reason

advertising and social change

october 1972
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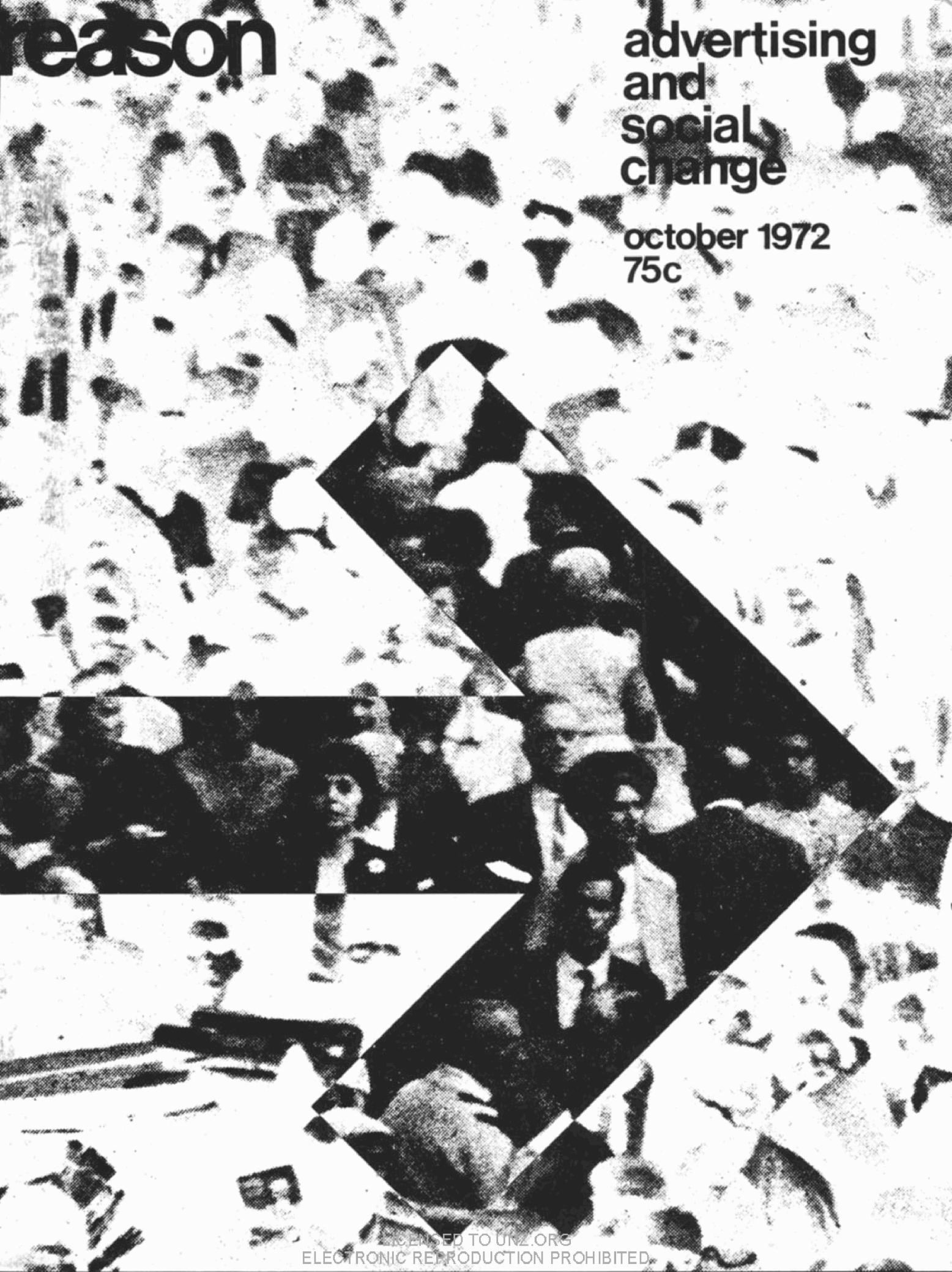

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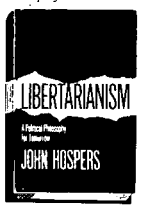

Drawing largely on such writers as Ayn Rand, Murray Rothbard, Ludwig von Mises and Henry Hazlitt, Hospers integrates the most forceful of libertarian arguments into a coherent case ranging in issues covered from individual rights to international relations, from welfare to ecology.

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Our price $9 (saves 10% off retail price)

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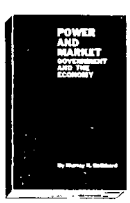

Demonstrating how a free market can perform all the functions of protection and defense without a government in the opening chapters, Rothbard moves on to analyze a blizzard of government interventions into the economy. *Power and Market* covers all forms of government coercion, zeroing in on product control (which Rothbard divides into types of prohibitions and into grants of special privileges), on all types of government expenditures, socialism, public property, and the nature and uses of economics as a science.

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As is usual with Mencken, these two collections of his writings span nearly every subject imaginable. Sometimes he is enormously benevolent, other times cynical, but always thoroughly enjoyable. In his ability to spin out aphorisms, he is nearly unequalled—possibly only rivaled by Nietzsche.

A few Menckenisms:

"When a man laughs at his troubles he loses a good many friends. They never forgive the loss of their prerogative."

"Never let your inferiors do you a favor. It will be extremely costly."

"Conscience is the inner voice which warns us that someone may be looking."

But these are just teasers. Mencken is not merely a humorist, and beneath the wit there is often a very penetrating glance at reality, with no excuses made for bluntness. Ultimately, Mencken should be regarded as a profound intellect which, faced with the absurdities we see around us, and read about on the front pages of every day's newspaper, chose not to seek to reform what he saw, but to subject it to ridicule. In facing the choice, as he saw it, of either laughing or going insane, he chose to laugh, and did it better than anyone else.

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OCTOBER 1972
Volume 4, Number 6

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REASON is published monthly by Reason Enterprises, 294 Via El Encantador, Santa Barbara, California 93111. Tel (805) 964-4131. Second class postage paid at Santa Barbara, California, and at additional mailing offices. Copyright © 1972 by Reason Enterprises. All rights reserved.

CORRESPONDENCE: Address comments, manuscripts (for return, please include a self-addressed envelope with postage), and subscription orders to P.O. Box 6151, Santa Barbara, California 93111.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single copies, 75 cents; special issues, $1.25. Subscriptions: one year (12 issues) in the United States, $9.00; 2 years, $17.00; 3 years, $25.00 (Canada and Mexico, add 50 cents a year). Other countries: one year, $10.50; 2 years, $20.00; 3 years, $29.50.

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advertising and social change

Communicating new ideas to people—such as those professed by libertarians—is no easy task. One man who deals with this problem, as a professional, is advertising man John Zeigler, president of John Zeigler, Inc. Zeigler's agency is the first—and so far the only—ad agency that specializes in cause advertising. It has done ads for birth control, the draft, abortion-law reform, pollution control, drug abuse, refugee relief, conservation, and alimony—and made money doing so, both for itself and for its clients. That in itself would be worthy of note, but beyond that, John Zeigler is a libertarian—an outspoken advocate of individual rights and opponent of government coercion. Zeigler finds it possible to weave his libertarian views into the fabric of his ads for diverse clients, ranging from the National Audubon Society to Friends of the Earth, the National Council of Negro Women, and the YWCA.

Zeigler graduated from the University of Cincinnati in advertising, worked 5½ years for Procter and Gamble as an art director, and then moved into advertising and art direction for various ad agencies in New York. He has held agency jobs as copywriter, creative group supervisor, and television producer, and while at Galbraith, Hoffman, and Rogers, he created the Center for Issue Advertising, a division designed primarily to fight anti-business laws. Five years ago he founded the Workshop for Social Change Through Advertising at the New School for Social Research. In May 1970 he founded John Zeigler, Inc. using his Manhattan apartment as an office. Two days later he had his first client, Sierra Club Books. The client list has now grown to 30.

Zeigler's work has attracted great attention. Stories about him have appeared in many advertising trade publications. His National Children's Forest Campaign for Hunt-Wesson was written up in TIME, *and his business success was written up in* BUSINESS WEEK. *In March of this year Zeigler set the ad industry on its ear in a widely-publicized speech to the Fairfield County Advertising Club. Zeigler, responding to the Federal Trade Commission's harassment of advertising, suggested that the ad industry "hold hearings of its own, to examine the purpose, philosophy, activities, intent, and abuse of power by the FTC, and whether it has any logical basis for existing in a free economic society." Speaking before the National Lawyers' Guild, Zeigler compared the legal profession with vultures, for its complicity in government attacks on advertising.*

Significantly, Zeigler has escaped being branded as an extremist, despite his principled, outspoken views. Zeigler is first of all a professional communicator, who understands his audiences and the tools at his disposal. To gain a better understanding of Zeigler's ideas and methods, particularly as applied to libertarian social change, REASON *contributing editor Lanny Friedlander, assisted by NYU film student Ronnie Schwartz, interviewed Zeigler earlier this year in his New York office. This is what we learned.*

an interview with John Zeigler

REASON: As president of the country's first cause advertising agency, do you feel that the libertarian movement can benefit in any way from your experience and expertise in mass communications to help spread the word?

ZEIGLER: Well of course I'm biased but I think that advertising is probably the most important vehicle to get our message before the public. This is critical of course because until public attitudes are changed politicians won't move. I suppose the only way that we will get a non-statist society is to eventually hope that politicians will relinquish a lot of power through public pressure.

I conduct a workshop in the New School for Social Research called "Cause Advertising: an Alternative to Powerlessness." Frankly I think that is an appropriate title for the interest groups that we deal with, specifically social interest groups that are dedicated to the defense of individual rights to life, liberty, and property. Libertarians are striving to achieve a state of some control over their own lives and it isn't going to happen through the courts, it isn't going to happen through the voting booth, it isn't going to happen through street demonstrations, and it isn't going to happen through reeducation in an antiquated public school system. So actually it only leaves libertarians one vehicle other than arms or violence, of course, to effect the kinds of changes we all want, and that vehicle is the media—mass communications.

REASON This concept is probably relatively new, or might be relatively new to some of our readers so specifically, how has mass communications aided and abetted causes in the past?

ZEIGLER: Well, first of all we have to break down mass communications: cause advertising, direct mail, public relations, publicity, and fund raising. When I talk about media or mass communications, I'm talking about any tool other than one-to-one confrontations or dialogues between people and that includes advertising on radio, television, newspapers, magazines, or print and electronics media; as well as buttons, placards films, books, literature, leaflets, street theatre. In short any way to use print or electronic devices to make known a point of view. Now specifically to answer your question, historically ads against the war, and going back even further, ads in defense of the civil rights movement in the South in the early 60s were effective in raising funds and helped in changing public attitudes. That was my first exposure to the drama and effectiveness of this type of communications. This was followed by anti-Vietnam War ads by peace groups.

At that point I conceived the idea for my workshop at the New School as an alternative to the Advertising Council. The Advertising Council is made up of media people, advertising people, and industry people working together as a team to provide public service advertising in various media. Now because of their charter limitations and in order to preserve their tax-exempt status, their advertising of necessity must be non-controversial. Well this is unfortunate because since their founding, 4 billion dollars have been given to public service advertising in terms of time, talent, and space, and about $400,000,000 a year is given over to public service advertising for various efforts such as Smokey the Bear, Library Week, Heart Association, etc. I felt that at the time, it was critical that interest groups concerned with matters such as abortion, the draft, war, alimony and divorce, the crime rate, drugs, public employee strikes, etc., ought to have access to a professional group that could provide communications to educate the public—and hopefully, law makers—in order to change irresponsible legislation or initiate new legislation that would protect individual rights to life, liberty, and property.

At that time, Burt Steinhauser at Doyle, Dane, Bernbach created probably the most successful protest—about rat control legislation. The ad read, "Cut this out and put it in bed next to your child,"—and there was a large photo of a rat. Anyway Congress had laughed at this kind of legislation, again not that I am a supporter of it, but they had laughed at this kind of legislation and this had made Burt Steinhauser enraged, feeling that the people in the

ghettos needed this kind of protection. The result of the ad was that since it pinpointed how the legislators voted, the effect was to embarass them in print, in magazines and newspapers. Sargent Shriver circulated the ad around Congress and in effect said, "Hey mac, look—your name is down here, that's the way you voted it, is that how you want it to stand?" Most Congressmen said no and they quickly made an abrupt change and voted for rat control legislation. Subsequently, Johnson, who was president at the time, sent Burt Steinhauser a letter that in effect said, "If it weren't for your ad we never would have effected this legislation." So that's the first example I can think of in a controversial area.

But prior to that, of course, public service advertising had been effective, it had done a fairly good job of educating people about forest fires and cancer care. So those are some earlier case histories; now political advertising is something else. There have been some successful political ads. Tom Collins of Rapp and Collins has won nation-wide fame recently as the direct mail advertising fund-raiser for McGovern, helping him raise $4,000,000 so that McGovern could say to George Meany, "I don't need your help anymore, I've got my own funds." Tom Collins invented what I call the domino effect in cause advertising. Now in this case it happened to be political advertising where he ran an ad for Adlai Stevenson and raised $100,000. He used that $100,000 to run three more ads and those ads pulled in more thousands of dollars and the continued use of advertising had a snowball or domino effect and not only built up campaign funds but built up more funds for advertising. Stevenson was subsequently nominated at that convention.

REASON: Have you ever considered doing specifically *political* ads, as opposed to *cause* ads?

ZEIGLER: I have been asked again in the last day or two to be one of the ad writers on the McGovern campaign. Now our *agency* wouldn't do this, but I might have done it on an assignment basis with another agency if I had decided I could do it. I have to admit at this point, I was really not entirely sure what position to take. I saw a grand opportunity to talk about abortion or the draft or the war in a McGovern ad, if I were permitted to talk about that issue exclusively, solely. But I frankly wouldn't feel good about having helped elect that man (though I wouldn't feel good about helping elect Nixon either). So I decided not to accept their offer—no matter how you slice it, the ads might have helped elect him. As I mentioned, our *agency* refuses to take on *any* political candidate at *any* time considering that these guys are really the enemy.

REASON: But aren't you now providing help for the Libertarian Party?

ZEIGLER: Yes, we've signed on as the Libertarian Party's ad agency, but this is much more in the nature of a *cause* than a *political* campaign.

REASON: Then you aren't primarily using the ads to elect candidates?

ZEIGLER: I think they could probably help elect some local candidates, but the prime purpose of using advertising at this point for any libertarian candidate or the Libertarian Party in any part of the country is essentially to educate the public about our philosophy. I think you'll find that most of the candidates and most of the parties will say, "Yes, that is pretty much our intent at this point. We have really no hopes of winning, but we do look forward to this as an opportunity to expand views and to get an alternative voice heard." And I think this is absolutely critical. I think that the public has been brainwashed into thinking for some reason they have two choices when the two choices are pretty damn similar. What they should have is not only a choice between a collectivist and a fascist candidate, but also have a chance to vote for a candidate who offers them freedom from injustices and freedom from any more coercion, especially through taxes.

REASON: What made you decide to violate your rule against doing political ads, even in this sense?

ZEIGLER: Well, basically it's because this is the first time that there has been a political philosophy that I could agree with. And frankly, I think this is very exciting because, although I hate to use the word, it's something of a dream that has been fulfilled. When I started my workshop five years ago, very frankly my question to myself was: how can I use my skills as an advertising man to expose the public to the ideas and beliefs of Ayn Rand?

REASON: At that time were you an Objectivist?

ZEIGLER: At that time I was a student of Objectivism and still am.

REASON: Can you tell us briefly about your own political orientation and how you came to be a libertarian?

ZEIGLER: I was a bleeding-heart liberal up until about the age of 36. At that time I was doing some ghost writing for Dr. Albert Ellis the psychologist, and I originated the now-famous debate between Ellis and Nathaniel Branden. At that lecture Branden made many references to Rand's *FOR THE NEW INTELLECTUAL*. So I bought a copy of it and was absolutely stunned by it. I became wildly engrossed in the subject, read *ATLAS SHRUGGED*, and those two paperbacks quite dramatically changed my life.

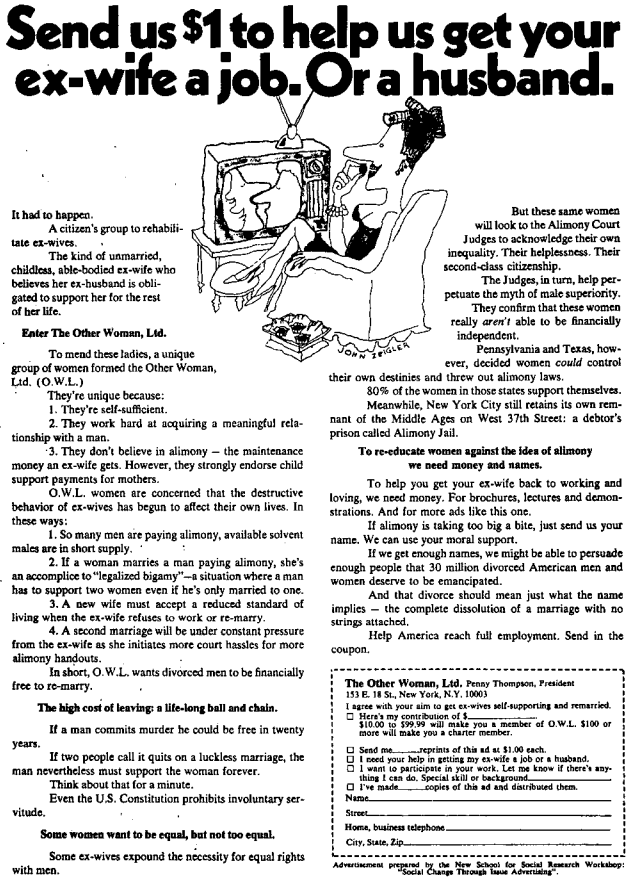
REASON: So you consider yourself an Objectivist Libertarian?

ZEIGLER: That's difficult for me to answer and frankly it makes me a little uptight. Unlike most libertarians I find it a little difficult to express my *precise* social-economic-political position. This is to say that it makes me a little defensive because I can't always take a firm stand with other libertarians on my positions, but suffice to say that I am simply anxious to change society to the extent that my individual rights to life, liberty, and property are not violated any more.

REASON: In other words you are more concerned with the necessity for developing the need for mass communications techniques among libertarians than becoming engrossed in the intellectual exercise?

ZEIGLER: Correct. This is not to put down the necessity for all of this exploring and discussing (premises and concepts) about the movement. However, I feel that at this point we have done too much talking to ourselves and now that the time is right, as far as I am concerned, I feel that it's necessary that we start talking to the public and stop talking to ourselves. As Bob Baker has said, "Libertarians are those people who publish little magazines for each other." Now, I may be misquoting him, but that was the sense of what I think he had to say and I think that's true. Here we have the most viable, profound, exciting, dynamic philosophy that man has ever devised and we're simply not doing our homework in terms of examining ways to promote this philosophy to other people.

I'm not saying this has to be done because of any missionary zeal or because "I know better than you, therefore, adapt to my life-style," but simply because I am afraid of that misuse of power (on the part of local, state, and federal politicians, and the UN), has quite a day-by-day and hourly effect on my life, my earning power, and the way my life, health, and property are protected. At this point I feel I'm not getting that protection. So, my motivation, frankly, in wanting to propagate this theory, is self-protection. I want to be able to spend the rest of my years on this planet with as little interference from corps of power forces as possible. I also want my children to be free of injustices.



Send us $1 to help us get your ex-wife a job. Or a husband.

It had to happen.

A citizen's group to rehabilitate ex-wives.

The kind of unmarried, childless, able-bodied ex-wife who believes her ex-husband is obligated to support her for the rest of her life.

Enter The Other Woman, Ltd.

To mend these ladies, a unique group of women formed the Other Woman, Ltd. (O.W.L.)

They're unique because:

1. They're self-sufficient.
2. They work hard at acquiring a meaningful relationship with a man.
3. They don't believe in alimony – the maintenance money an ex-wife gets. However, they strongly endorse child support payments for mothers.

O.W.L. women are concerned that the destructive behavior of ex-wives has begun to affect their own lives. In these ways:

1. So many men are paying alimony, available solvent males are in short supply.
2. If a woman marries a man paying alimony, she's an accomplice to "legalized bigamy"—a situation where a man has to support two women even if he's only married to one.
3. A new wife must accept a reduced standard of living when the ex-wife refuses to work or re-marry.
4. A second marriage will be under constant pressure from the ex-wife as she initiates more court hassles for more alimony handouts.

In short, O.W.L. wants divorced men to be financially free to re-marry.

The high cost of leaving: a life-long ball and chain.

If a man commits murder he could be free in twenty years.

If two people call it quits on a luckless marriage, the man nevertheless must support the woman forever.

Think about that for a minute.

Even the U.S. Constitution prohibits involuntary servitude.

Some women want to be equal, but not too equal.

Some ex-wives expound the necessity for equal rights with men.

But these same women will look to the Alimony Court Judges to acknowledge their own inequality. Their helplessness. Their second-class citizenship.

The Judges, in turn, help perpetuate the myth of male superiority.

They confirm that these women really *aren't* able to be financially independent.

Pennsylvania and Texas, however, decided women *could* control their own destinies and threw out alimony laws.

80% of the women in those states support themselves.

Meanwhile, New York City still retains its own remnant of the Middle Ages on West 37th Street: a debtor's prison called Alimony Jail.

To re-educate women against the idea of alimony we need money and names.

To help you get your ex-wife back to working and loving, we need money. For brochures, lectures and demonstrations. And for more ads like this one.

If alimony is taking too big a bite, just send us your name. We can use your moral support.

If we get enough names, we might be able to persuade enough people that 30 million divorced American men and women deserve to be emancipated.

And that divorce should mean just what the name implies – the complete dissolution of a marriage with no strings attached.

Help America reach full employment. Send in the coupon.

The Other Woman, Ltd. Penny Thompson, President
153 E. 18 St., New York, N.Y. 10003

I agree with your aim to get ex-wives self-supporting and remarried.

☐ Here's my contribution of $_____. $10.00 to $99.99 will make you a member of O.W.L. $100 or more will make you a charter member.

☐ Send me_____reprints of this ad at $1.00 each.
☐ I need your help in getting my ex-wife a job or a husband.
☐ I want to participate in your work. Let me know if there's anything I can do. Special skill or background_____
☐ I've made_____copies of this ad and distributed them.

Name_____
Street_____
Home, business telephone_____
City, State, Zip_____

Advertisement prepared by the New School for Social Research Workshop: "Social Change Through Issue Advertising".

REASON: Let's move on now to discuss your methods for doing this. Tell us about your own agency. What impacts and what successes have you had on raising funds, changing attitudes and changing laws?

ZEIGLER: I'll cite a few case histories. Example number one would be the advertisement we prepared for a group that I originally invented, called the Other Woman Limited, which was an anti-alimony group. The headline read, "Send us a dollar to help us get your ex-wife a job or a husband." Now, in that ad I was frankly interested in demonstrating one thing: the power of advertising. This is probably one of the most successful protest ads ever designed because for a very small budget—that came out of my pocket—we wound up reaching 82 million people.

REASON: How did you do that?

ZEIGLER: Our budget would not permit us to have the kind of impact and reach that an anti-alimony crusade required. So very simply we decided that the only way we could reach enough people on this issue was through non-advertising vehicles.

REASON: Meaning what?

ZEIGLER: Meaning journalists. Our objective frankly was to provoke the interest of journalists. After we had placed the ad free in three publications we got a mention in *COSMOPOLITAN MAGAZINE* and there was a six-page story in *CORONET* that followed that. The *NEW YORK TIMES* then interviewed the group, did a half-page story on it—which was then subsequently picked up by most newspapers in the country and many newspapers all over the world. The group appeared on the Today Show, To Tell The Truth, Girl Talk, CBS TV News, many radio shows, all over the country and all over the world. And the last appearance was my own on the David Suskind Show a couple of months ago.

REASON: Did you raise any money?

ZEIGLER: That was a secondary objective and yes, we did. But, as I said, the prime motive here was to demonstrate the power of an ad, and how if professionally written, properly constructed and engagingly presented it could excite the interest of journalists in both the print and electronic media.

REASON: You said you received free space in three publications. How were you able to do this?

ZEIGLER: Well frankly, 90% of all of the advertising placed for all of our clients at John Zeigler, Inc. is placed free.

REASON: In other words most of your clients don't have to pay for their advertising?

ZEIGLER: They have to pay for our creative services, but as a rule we're able to secure free space in publications, much like the Advertising Council is able to secure space.

REASON: In other words, the media are now becoming responsive to controversial questions and issues?

Millions of East Bengalis dreamed of going home. Now, they are facing conditions that are worse than the refugee camps. No shelter. No food. No doctors. No medicine.

They need your money to survive. But just as desperately, they need your ingenuity.

20 million East Bengalis are homeless within their own country. 10 million more are trudging home from the Indian refugee camps to join the homeless. Most of them are women without men and children without fathers—frail and tragic figures who couldn't rebuild their burned-down huts even if the army hadn't destroyed their bamboo building materials.

This plea for help may be the most urgent in the heart-breaking history of this stricken area.

These people need money. And they need every ounce of energy we all have to raise it. For the following most basic needs.

Grain. 500,000 tons of it. Since they couldn't very well attend to the crops during more than a year of cyclone, flood and war, pockets of famine are predicted.

Shelter. Corrugated plastic sheeting and other simple but protective building materials are critically needed.

Medical attention. Unlike in the refugee camps, there is no medicine at home. No vitamins. And hardly anyone is coming home healthy.

Agricultural equipment. To help the refugees rebuild themselves.

Transportation. 1,000 trucks and 500 buses to take the people home and distribute relief supplies.

The money you send or generate won't be wasted. Oxfam has been helping through 20 years in India and East Pakistan. We've learned to take a few dollars and stretch them into months of life. Now, we hope to do it in Bangladesh.

If you can't send a few dollars, here's how to raise more than $1,000.

All it takes is people. Turning their ingenuity into an effective force.

A group in Providence spent only two days putting together a rock concert that raised $450.

The University of Maryland has organized three concerts to benefit the refugees by more than $4,000.

A 22-year-old publishing editor and a master's degee candidate together dreamed up the now famous November 3rd Fast. 95 universities and 177 high schools took part. They collected more than $100,000. And money is still coming in from more Wednesday fasts that the students are holding on their own.

A high school art class designed Christmas cards to sell on behalf of Oxfam-America's East Pakistan refugee relief. Thanks to one class, we collected $400.

High schools and colleges throughout the country have pledged plans for dance marathons, bake sales, car washes, art exhibits, bazaars, plays, walking tours, bike trips—every direction their minds lead them. And we have more to thank than just the young people.

The Mayor of Rochester, N. Y., proclaimed a city-wide Refugee Week. Rochester individuals actually "adopted" the Agartala refugee camp to care for through the duration of the disaster. It's an idea worth spreading. The camps still need help.

Anyone can hold an auction, a rummage sale, a recycling drive, a plant-a-tree program, through clubs or churches or just among friends. A woman in New England sent us $750 from two simple rummage sales.

A San Francisco salesman made 1100 copies of an East Pakistan relief ad and enclosed them with his Christmas cards. You might send a few each day in appropriate business correspondence. Especially to people in the food, building materials, pharmaceutical, agricultural equipment or transportation industries.

Post this ad in your office, club headquarters, church, school or ask local merchants to put it in their windows.

Get utility companies, credit card clubs and department stores to use reprints of the ad in the first possible monthly statement.

Run the ad in your house organ, social journal, school paper (a great number of students have volunteered to write articles on the tragedy for their school newspapers).

Use this ad anyway you can. Ask your local newspaper to run it. Take it to your local radio and television stations and see how much news you can create on getting people to take care of people.

Help us put an end to the hell. The people of Bangladesh deserve what you can do to help them live. And you'll feel alive, too.

OXFAM-AMERICA, Inc.
Box 272, 1028 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Oxfam, a major relief and development agency taking care of every basic East Bengali need.

Enclosed is my gift of $_____.

Please send me _____ reprints of this ad to use wherever I can.

My special fund-raising skills include (speech-making? sales? secretarial? etc.? Please notify me about what you'd like me to tackle first):

_____

_____

Other fund-raising ideas include: _____

_____

I'm particularly interested in your example on: _____

_____. Whom can I contact for information on how it was run?

Name (Please Print)_____

Address_____

City, State, Zip_____

Make checks payable to Oxfam-America, Inc.
ALL DONATIONS ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE

Sponsors: John Kenneth Galbraith; Chester A. Bowles; Alvin Toffler; Harry D. Gideonse, Chancellor, New School for Social Research; Huston Smith, Chairman, World University Service; Charles Rhyne, President, World Peace through Law.

The war is over. But the hell goes on.

ZEIGLER: As a matter of fact, we now even have publications coming to us saying "John, we're upset about this public issue, can one of your clients prepare an ad and run it in our magazine and we'll provide the space at no charge?"

REASON: The only client investment is a fee for your services?

ZEIGLER: That's right. We do not charge on a commission basis the way most advertising agencies charge.

REASON: Still, isn't it a risk for social interest group clients to invest in paying you for your creative services since they have no product to sell? Isn't this money that they've invested down the drain?

ZEIGLER: It represents very little risk if they pay

"Our track record has demonstrated that it is possible to make cause advertising pay for itself."

us $3000 to prepare an ad, it's placed in publications free, and raises $35,000 for them. This represents pretty much of a no-risk investment. I'd like to emphasize that we *must* make every ad pay its own way in order to keep our clients. We've had pretty good success in achieving that objective.

REASON: Can you give us an example?

ZEIGLER: We were able to raise $35,000 from one Bengali refugee ad placed free in one publication. Our track record has demonstrated that it is possible to make cause advertising pay for itself. Most of our ads contain coupons and therefore, become "direct response" advertising and in that way it is possible for a social interest group client to recoup its original investment in hiring us to prepare its ad. Another example was an ad for the National Audubon Society. We planned to run it once in *AUDUBON MAGAZINE* to promote an ecological safari. The response was so great—$395,000 worth—that it was unnecessary to run the ad the following year because it had sold out. Wedid an ad for Sierra Club and the objective there was to bring people into stores at Christmas to thumb through Sierra Club books and buy them as Christmas gifts. That ad more than paid for itself in terms of contributions and in terms of prospective purchasers of future Sierra Club books.

REASON: It sounds as though one of your main functions is to generate mailing lists for your clients.

ZEIGLER: That's quite true. All donors that respond to these ads are a potential market for future contributions. To put it bluntly, an interest group isn't doing their job if they don't go back to those donors four times a year for additional contributions. So the names that come in from every ad become a very powerful mailing list and a very important source of future funds.

REASON: It seems as if what you're saying is that libertarians can avail themselves of a whole new public relations/advertising/fund-raising concept?

ZEIGLER: That's right. Getting back to the anti-alimony campaign for instance, what we also did at that time was to invent the "advertisement/press release." Now that means simply that we decided that the *advertisement* should function as a press release. As you know reporters very often extract verbatim the material you present in the press release. But, we felt an ad could do that better. One very important article by a highly respected journalist pretty much followed the construction of our ad. I'm not putting down the professionalism of journalists in any way; I'm just saying that I've found that if you want to get results you do people's work for them to the best of your ability and try to make life easy for them.

REASON: What you're saying is that as you prepare an ad you have in mind that it also function as a press release. Is that correct?

ZEIGLER: Right. All of our clients, frankly, are poverty-stricken, and it's imperative that we make every dollar that they invest in us or typography or mechanical charges or reprint charges work extremely hard. It means that if they have only $1000 to invest in their cause through advertising we have to make it work like $100,000.

REASON: You've given a lot of speeches recently that have been apparently well-received by the press, particularly the advertising trade press. Yet, you have not identified yourself as a libertarian; is there a reason for this?

ZEIGLER: If I appear on a radio show I think it's much more effective if the listener says to his friend the following day, "Hey, did you hear what that advertising man had to say about the FTC and advertising," as opposed to, "Hey, did you hear what this guy who calls himself a libertarian advertising man had to say about the FTC and advertising?"

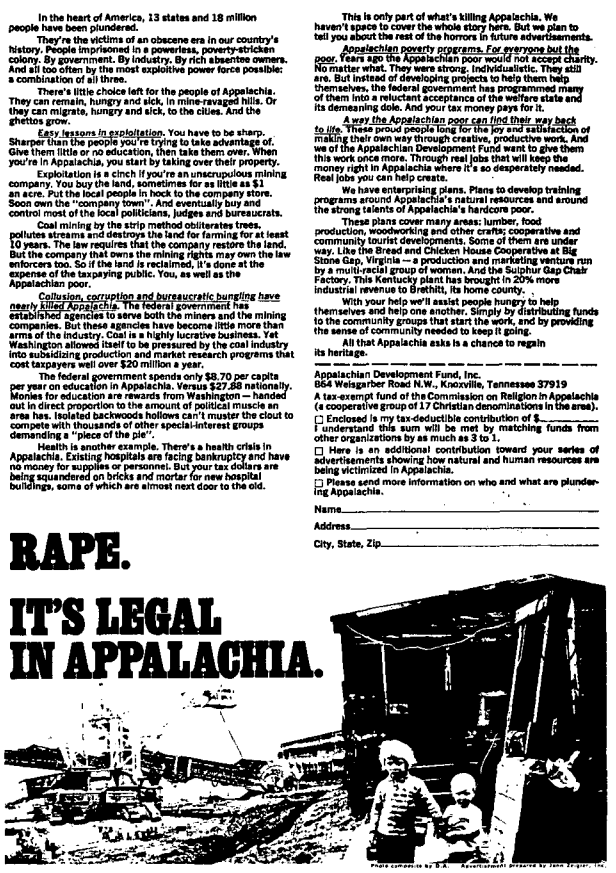
REASON: Then you think introducing the term *libertarianism* confuses the issue?

ZEIGLER: I think so because libertarianism embraces too many issues. I think that it is important, if I give a speech anywhere, that people relate to the issue I'm talking about, as opposed to my overall philosophy which frankly I think may confuse them. I think all libertarians have to learn the art of "trying to find common ground". By that I mean, I don't think we should come at the public or individuals with an assertion, "I'm a libertarian, here's what I

believe, what do you believe?" but more like, "What is our common ground, what are the things we commonly agree are evil or unjust, and what can we do *together* to eliminate these unjustices?" And frankly that's the position I've taken in my work. I will work with liberal and conservative groups as long as their particular issue is one I agree with, even though I may disagree with the general intent of their overall position. I look on the opportunity to work with them as frankly a good opportunity to educate the public on a specific issue.

REASON: In other words, if a major polluter like U. S. Steel came to you to devise an anti-alimony campaign you'd have no hesitancy in working with them even though they are a major polluter?

ZEIGLER: That's right. I don't pass any moral judgments about my clients. U.S. Steel may be a major polluter, but John Zeigler is a minor polluter.


In the heart of America, 13 states and 18 million people have been plundered.
They're the victims of an obscene era in our country's history. People imprisoned in a powerless, poverty-stricken colony. By government. By industry. By rich absentee owners. And all too often by the most exploitive power force possible: a combination of all three.
There's little choice left for the people of Appalachia. They can remain, hungry and sick, in mine-ravaged hills. Or they can migrate, hungry and sick, to the cities. And the ghettos grow.
Easy lessons in exploitation. You have to be sharp. Sharper than the people you're trying to take advantage of. Give them little or no education, then take them over. When you're in Appalachia, you start by taking over their property.
Exploitation is a cinch if you're an unscrupulous mining company. You buy the land, sometimes for as little as $1 an acre. Put the local people in hock to the company store. Soon own the "company town". And eventually buy and control most of the local politicians, judges and bureaucrats.
Coal mining by the strip method obliterates trees, pollutes streams and destroys the land for farming for at least 10 years. The law requires that the company restore the land. But the company that owns the mining rights may own the law enforcers too. So if the land is reclaimed, it's done at the expense of the taxpaying public. You, as well as the Appalachian poor.
Collusion, corruption and bureaucratic bungling have nearly killed Appalachia. The federal government has established agencies to serve both the miners and the mining companies. But these agencies have become little more than arms of the industry. Coal is a highly lucrative business. Yet Washington allowed itself to be pressured by the coal industry into subsidizing production and market research programs that cost taxpayers well over $20 million a year.
The federal government spends only $8.70 per capita per year on education in Appalachia. Versus $27.88 nationally. Monies for education are rewards from Washington — handed out in direct proportion to the amount of political muscle an area has. Isolated backwoods hollows can't muster the clout to compete with thousands of other special-interest groups demanding a "piece of the pie".
Health is another example. There's a health crisis in Appalachia. Existing hospitals are facing bankruptcy and have no money for supplies or personnel. But your tax dollars are being squandered on bricks and mortar for new hospital buildings, some of which are almost next door to the old.
This is only part of what's killing Appalachia. We haven't space to cover the whole story here. But we plan to tell you about the rest of the horrors in future advertisements.
Appalachian poverty programs. For everyone but the poor. Years ago the Appalachian poor would not accept charity. No matter what. They were strong. Individualistic. They still are. But instead of developing projects to help them help themselves, the federal government has programmed many of them into a reluctant acceptance of the welfare state and its demeaning dole. And your tax money pays for it.
A way the Appalachian poor can find their way back to life. These proud people long for the joy and satisfaction of making their own way through creative, productive work. And we of the Appalachian Development Fund want to give them this work once more. Through real jobs that will keep the money right in Appalachia where it's so desperately needed. Real jobs you can help create.
We have enterprising plans. Plans to develop training programs around Appalachia's natural resources and around the strong talents of Appalachia's hardcore poor.
These plans cover many areas: lumber, food production, woodworking and other crafts; cooperative and community tourist developments. Some of them are under way. Like the Bread and Chicken House Cooperative at Big Stone Gap, Virginia — a production and marketing venture run by a multi-racial group of women. And the Sulphur Gap Chair Factory. This Kentucky plant has brought in 20% more industrial revenue to Bethlit, its home county.
With your help we'll assist people hungry to help themselves and help one another. Simply by distributing funds to the community groups that start the work, and by providing the sense of community needed to keep it going.
All that Appalachia asks is a chance to regain its heritage.
Appalachian Development Fund, Inc.
864 Weisgarber Road N.W., Knoxville, Tennessee 37919
A tax-exempt fund of the Commission on Religion in Appalachia (a cooperative group of 17 Christian denominations in the area).
☐ Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution of $_____. I understand this sum will be met by matching funds from other organizations by as much as 3 to 1.
☐ Here is an additional contribution toward your series of advertisements showing how natural and human resources are being victimized in Appalachia.
☐ Please send more information on who and what are plundering Appalachia.
Name_____
Address_____
City, State, Zip_____
RAPE.
IT'S LEGAL IN APPALACHIA.

My daughter has constantly called me on this point as I fill up each room with cigar smoke. None of us is perfect, and none of us is above criticism. The point I'm trying to make is that in my area of communications I can have more impact and achieve more results by working with other groups on specific issues even though I disagree with their overall purpose. To point it up, I may disagree with a person's religious views but that doesn't mean that's any kind of a basis for my not hiring him to work in my office.

ZEIGLER: Well as I mentioned before, it's on the basis of the client's committment to defending individual rights to life, liberty, and property, relative to the specific issue they're talking about. We have turned down specific products that pollute, that violate individual rights, and will continue to do so.

Recently we were asked to take on a client who had, on the whole, a noble objective—the elimination of poverty. One of their goals was to involve the private sector, but they nevertheless felt they had to express the need for federal funds in their advertising for support of their program. On that basis I had to reject them as a client. On the one hand they were asking me to help enlist the aid of the private sector, but they would also support in their ads the concept of taxation (or legalized theft) to extract money from private citizens for their program.

REASON: What we are really talking about is "the selling of a movement." Have you found that publishers and editors have objected to any of the libertarian content in the ads you've created for specific interest groups?

ZEIGLER: Well of course what I'm trying to do is in troduce into every ad the theme "If you can violate one man's rights you can violate any man's." But these specific words, of course, do not occur. Specific issues *are* talked about. Such as the collusion between government and industry to victimize Appalachians and their natural resources. Although my clients in this case were extremely religious and very liberal they were quite receptive to my point that the prime problem in Appalachia today is the collusion of absentee owners, industry and government in the exploitation of this area in an imperialistic manner.

"A recent study concluded that the prime issue before the public today is not crime—nor drugs—nor Vietnam—nor the environment—nor the economy."

So far it's hard to say whether editors have rejected some of the libertarian content of my ads, because they never tell me why a particular ad was rejected for free space. And that holds true with any press releases we send out regarding any ads that we prepare or regarding any speeches that I may make. We never know why they were rejected. However, I have to profess pleasure at the receptivity to which the points in my ads and the points in my speeches have been received. From time to time I will put feelers out on an individual basis with a publisher or editor or a client about my libertarian viewpoints but never with the purpose of trying to convert him. This would be absurd, masochistic and dangerous to the movement.

REASON: Have you been able to introduce any libertarian principles within the framework of an existing client organization?

ZEIGLER: When they accept and agree to publish any of our ads that contain these principles, naturally they're adopting these principles into their organization. Quite frequently an organization is not ready to hire us simply because we have been able to demonstrate their lack of identity or structure in their own group. We've made suggestions on how they can achieve this intellectual structure and suggestions on particular principles that we think their organization could adopt to make them stronger and more newsworthy to the press, and they've gone along with what we've advised.

REASON: You mentioned before you invented the anti-alimony group. Can you tell us the results of this kind of community organization?

ZEIGLER: Well, probably the primary reward I get from creating some interest groups for the purpose of putting across my view of an issue to the public is the letters I get from people who say "Thank God you exist, thank God somebody is doing something about this problem. Is there anything we can do to help? Can I start a chapter here in Utah?" These kind of replies were extremely touching and frankly made me feel very good. I have done something to give other people hope about an issue, and although published letters to editors are a very critical part of any communications program, for some reason an ad has even more effect on people's feeling of powerlessness, frustration, apathy and futility. When they see an ad appear, they realize that something *professional* is happening to effect solutions to a given problem and that gives them hope.

To elaborate on this point, a recent research study that your readers are probably not aware of revealed among 20,000 people polled the prime issue before the public today is not crime, it is not drugs, it is not Vietnam, it is not the environment, it is not the economy. The prime issue today is people's anxiety about the political system. Their second concern was, "We don't know how to communicate with each other any more." Communications are a problem. Now, John Zeigler, Inc. can go just so far in helping to do something about that particular problem, i.e., apathy and feelings of futility on the part of people because the judges and politicians are not being responsive to their needs and their concerns. So, what we're doing is starting a non-profit arm to John Zeigler, Inc. called, *SPEAK OUT*. Speak Out's aim as a non-profit organization is to help people present their views about all public issues, in all media. And through whatever funding possible we will provide the tools to social action groups and special interest organizations, on how to present their views about public issues through the media. The way we do this is through lectures, films, booklets, and literature, that will in effect say, "Here's how you make ads, here's how you fund-raise, get publicity, and free space in all media."

REASON: How will Speak Out help people on specific problems?

ZEIGLER: Well, our first ad in the *NEW YORK TIMES* will ask people to tell us what issues they're the most angry about, whether it is drugs, crime, abortion, divorce and alimony, and we will have their names on file. Now hopefully we will have the names on file of every person in the country and how they feel about specific issues so that if a libertarian in St. Louis writes us and tells us, "Look I'm angry about dog litter on the street in St. Louis. What can I do about it? Can you give me the names of other people in St. Louis who wrote Speak Out about their anger about dog litter? Tell me who they are so I can

"We think SPEAK OUT is much more important than such groups as John Gardner's Common Cause or Ralph Nader's Public Citizen, because it attempts to mobilize people behind public issues rather than politically or ideologically."

organize them on a community or city-wide basis to do something legislatively about this problem." We then in turn will furnish him with the names of people in his area, so that he can proceed to organize them. This will be the first attempt to mobilize people behind public issues rather than politically or ideologically. And for that reason we think it is much more important than any groups such as John Gardner's Common Cause, or Ralph Nader's Public Citizen. I think you can also see the advantage of having these names for quick access by politicians to determine how their constituancy or how the nation at large is feeling about specific issues.

REASON: How will Speak Out be funded?

ZEIGLER: Essentially by the public. Again we will use the domino effect in advertising to enlist support for Speak Out. We'll ask people to contribute $15.00 as a member of Speak Out and they'll receive a newsletter periodically telling them specifically how to use the tools of media and advertising to effect social change. Beyond that we hope that foundations will want to support Speak Out and we hope that corporations will want to contribute, but I'm not too optimistic about their involvement.

REASON: Has Speak Out been launched yet?

ZEIGLER: We've just received our incorporation papers but by the time this interview is printed we will have received our tax exemption, which is critical relative to our ability to receive tax-deductible gifts.

REASON: Will Speak Out be of much value to the liberatarian movement?

ZEIGLER: Frankly we would like the support of every libertarian in the form of contributions and participation as members. The membership will cost $15.00 a year and if you're so inclined we would be very pleased to receive your membership fee at Speak Out, 55 West 44th Street, New York, New York 10036. Because the material that we're preparing is essentially "how to" material for libertarians (and we'd be pleased to just make these "how to" manuals and films and slides available to libertarian groups exclusively), these aids will be of great value, I think, to the movement. Aside from that it affords libertarians a great opportunity, as I said before, of writing to us and asking "How many people in my community are angry about the issues I am angry about? Can you give me their names and addresses so I can organize them?" It's an opportunity for libertarians to organize other citizens around libertarian issues. We would be pleased to have any volunteer help from the New York area, from people who are interested in our objectives.

REASON: Frankly it's hard to believe that an ad can achieve all the objectives you've outlined here today.

ZEIGLER: Many times our ads have multiple objectives. In the Other Woman, Ltd. anti-alimony ad, the first and most important objective was to provoke journalists' interest. The second objective was to change public attitudes. The third objective was to change the laws. *In that order*. Now a peripheral objective, of course, was to raise money so that we would have enough funds for operational expenses, more leaflets and more advertising.

Quite often publishers and clients will say to me, "You're out of your mind. Why do you put all this information in the ad? An ad can *only* do just so much." Well we've proved just the opposite, an ad can do all these things, and many more. It depends on what information you put in the coupon. But it is critical that the ad have one *primary* objective. Very often a secondary objective can be achieved but more often than not an ad, if it's to be successful, should *focus* primarily only on one objective. The coupon and other points in the copy can focus on the other objectives but the headline, subheadline, and subheads should primarily underscore the primary objective.

REASON: What other points can you tell us that will be helpful to libertarians in preparing their own posters, leaflets and ads?

ZEIGLER: Adopt what I call the OARAF. Broken down that means *Objective, Audience, Rationale, Actions, and Funding.* Before you even put paper to pencil to write an ad or headline you must think through the OARAF, which is the guts of the ad, the basic structure of any communications whether it is a letter to the editor, an inhouse memo, or any form of communication. The Objective simply means what

do-able action do you want on the part of the reader? What do you want him to do after he's through reading your ad? The Audience means simply who are you talking to? Are they liberals, conservatives, blacks, whites, men, women, and what age group. It's critical to have a firm fix on who your audience is. Rationale simply means the reason why I should buy your argument. And that usually pertains to self interest, i.e., if you want me to join your organization called "Committee to Abolish Victimless Crimes" why should I join? Why is it in my interest to? And this has to clearly ring throughout all the ad and hopefully the headline will express that rationale. If the issue is too complex to be able to express distinctly in that headline maybe you cheat a little and use an umbrella or borrowed interest headline and explain the rationale in the subheadline but the rationale has to be very quickly in evidence. If you observe most ads for libertarian publications or libertarian organizations they've simply ignored that last factor—the rationale—and have glibly gone on to write a very clever or tricky headline thinking, "Oh well, this is the way that Madison Ave. does it so it must be right." Not true.

The next point is Actions. This is not the do-able action I am talking about as far as the objective is concerned; I'm talking about other actions you may wish the reader to take—a letter to a Congressman, a letter to an editor, or a letter to a state legislator. If achieving your objectives means that you need five dollars or five thousand dollars from contributors by all means this is an action that should be incorporated into the coupon. The next point is Funding. Too often groups are not clear about how this ad is going to be funded. They start with very little notion of how to achieve free space.

REASON: How do they get the necessary funding to begin an ad?

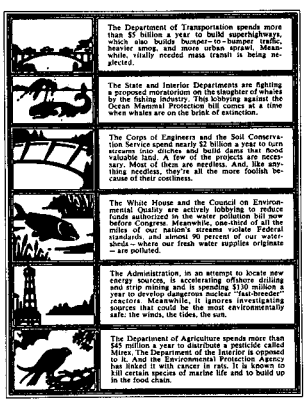
ZEIGLER: They fund-raise. It's that simple. Over 18 billion dollars is given each year philanthropically. I have very little sympathy for a group that comes into my office pleading poverty. "Will you do this on a volunteer basis?" Because what it means is they don't want to take the initial, scary, and sweat-producing steps necessary to get some money. If it's a matter of raising the first $300, they can do that through a block party or a rummage sale. There are many common-sense ways that groups can fund-raise and acquire the ir firstinitial funds.

REASON: What do you think of the "ad making" potential of libertarians?

ZEIGLER: Probably 90% of all libertarians have written ads at one point. Whether they are ads for their particular causes or simple want ads when they wanted to get rid of a used car. The best ads in the newspapers today are want ads. Simply because the writer has given serious thought to his unique selling proposition, and his OARAF. For instance, "Used car for sale. Owned by two little old ladies in tennis shoes. Never driven over 40 miles per hour and only driven 200 miles per year in the last 5 years." In that ad the sellers clearly knew what would appeal to the reader. Unfortunately when libertarians get around to making ads they think that because they've heard the

THE GREAT MISTAKES CONTEST

Wrecking the environment seems to be a hot competition among most government agencies.
The blunders are usually made on your tax money.
Here are a few expensive examples:


The Department of Transportation spends more than $5 billion a year to build superhighways, which also build bumper-to-bumper traffic, heavier smog, and more urban sprawl. Meanwhile, vitally needed mass transit is being neglected.
The State and Interior Departments are fighting a proposed moratorium on the slaughter of whales by the fishing industry. This lobbying against the Ocean Mammal Protection bill comes at a time when whales are on the brink of extinction.
The Corps of Engineers and the Soil Conservation Service spend nearly $2 billion a year to turn streams into ditches and build dams that flood valuable land. A few of the projects are necessary. Most of them are needless. And, like anything needless, they're all the more foolish because of their costliness.
The White House and the Council on Environmental Quality are actively lobbying to reduce funds authorized in the water pollution bill now before Congress. Meanwhile, one-third of all the miles of our nation's streams violate Federal standards, and almost 90 percent of our watersheds – where our fresh water supplies originate – are polluted.
The Administration, in an attempt to locate new energy sources, is accelerating offshore drilling and strip mining and is spending $130 million a year to develop dangerous nuclear "fast-breeder" reactors. Meanwhile, it ignores investigating sources that could be the most environmentally safe: the winds, the tides, the sun.
The Department of Agriculture spends more than $45 million a year to distribute a pesticide called Mirex. The Department of the Interior is opposed to it. And the Environmental Protection Agency has linked it with cancer in rats. It is known to kill certain species of marine life and to build up in the food chain.

It's time to introduce the prime cause of environment problems. Meet the government. Some of whose agencies allow billions of dollars' worth of mistakes and don't stop the mistakes once they've been started.

You can help put an end to the blundering.

Friends of the Earth has accomplished the near-impossible before. We intend to keep doing it. For $15, you can join with us. And help us keep more mistakes from getting out of hand.

Friends of the Earth knows how to stop the mistakes before they become earth-shattering blunders.

Besides organizing and directing the campaign that stopped the SST, we've also helped lead the fight to relocate the jetport that could have killed Everglades National Park. We lobbied for the Floridians who stopped the Cross-Florida Barge Canal. And are joining with other groups to help delay the Trans-Alaska Pipeline until a more reasonable alternative can be found.

We don't take full credit for blunder-cutting. We've worked closely with every one of the most effective environment groups in this country. And we go farther. Working in Germany, France, Holland, Sweden and the United Kingdom, for example. As international conservation activists we've learned that the environment has no borders.

Own a share of the FOE environmental lobby in Washington.

Your membership will help our four paid lobbyists and many volunteers in their combat with the many hundreds of industry lobbyists fighting to protect their power to pollute.

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Business writes off its lobbying expenses. We can't.
That's why we need you.

It's hard to raise money for a non-deductible organization. But it's only through your contribution that we can keep our four registered lobbyists going strong. Your contribution and our influence stand a strong chance of stopping another blunder.

Left on its own, the government isn't going to do it for you.

Stifle competition. Use your wits to call off The Great Mistakes Contest.

Spread this ad around. Copy it for your club magazine. Your company house organ. Your dentist's wall or your favorite bistro bulletin board. Get stores to use it as a bill stuffer. Use your influence with the local newspapers, television and radio stations. Use your voice and your imagination.

But most of all, help us to continue our existence by your contribution. Because, since The Great Mistakes Contest shows no sign of ending, you and Friends of the Earth need all the help we can get.

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH Services Division
8016 Zuni Road S.E.
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87108

$_____ Enclosed is my contribution for lobbying to stop the blunders.
Please enroll me as: ☐ Regular Member – $15 yr. ☐ Supporting Member – $25 yr. ☐ Contributing Member – $50 yr. ☐ Sustaining Member – $250 yr. ☐ Life Member – $1000 or more ☐ Student Member – $7.50.
☐ Included is $5 additional for Spouse Membership.

Contributions to Friends of the Earth are not deductible.

Supporting Members will receive six free books from our series of paperbacks. Contributing, Sustaining and Life Members will receive the six paperbacks plus any volume of their choosing from "The Earth's Wild Places" exhibit book series. $3.00 of each membership is for a subscription to the monthly newspaper "Not Man Apart."

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Enclosed is my contribution of $_____

Name (Please Print)_____

Address_____

City, State, Zip_____

Advertisement prepared by John Zeigler, Inc.

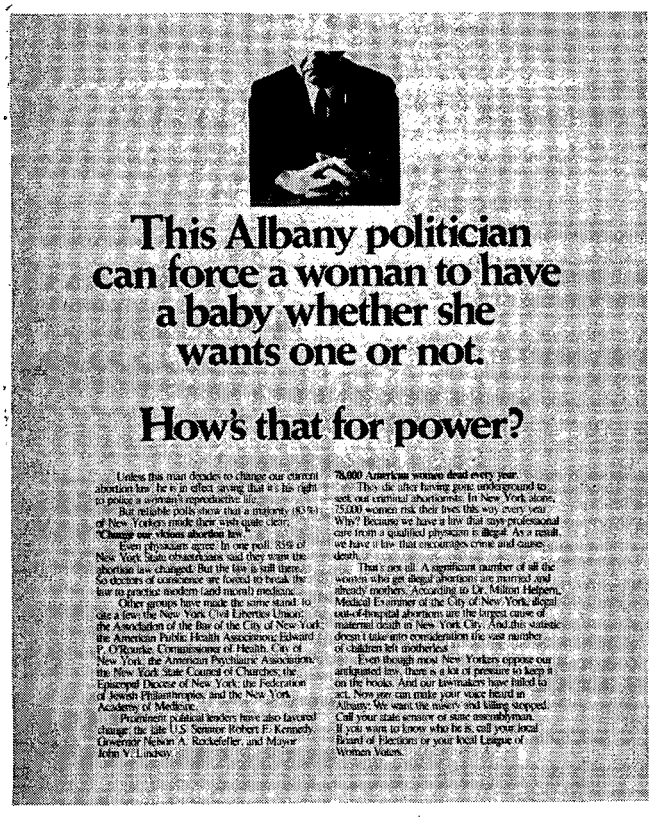
statement you have to create attention to be noticed, they start employing what they think is a Madison Avenue technique of a diverting headline. Often it is simply borrowed interest and has nothing to do with what they are saying. And then they will use an illustration they think is arresting but it too often has nothing to do with what they really want to say and the objectives they want to achieve. People *will* read your ad if it pertains to *their* self interest. It's that simple.

REASON: What would you say is the unique selling proposition or rationale for anyone reading a libertarian political ad?

ZEIGLER: The rationale is simply that the Libertarian Party is finally a vehicle whereby people can begin controlling their own lives. That they do not have to go through life being powerless, that there are tools at their disposal to make effective changes in the system.

REASON: What other ways of communicating should libertarians use other than advertising?

ZEIGLER: I think they should *write* an ad even if they don't publish it. It requires one to consolidate ideas and philosophy down to one simple sentence. Most people don't like to do that and shun that kind of discipline. Yet it enables one to go from there—from the development of a complex story into one sentence—to all of the component necessities: copy, text, slogans, placards, publicity releases, etc. But everything emanates out of the structure of that first ad.


This Albany politician can force a woman to have a baby whether she wants one or not.
How's that for power?
Unless this man decides to change our current abortion law, he is in effect saying that it is his right to police a woman's reproductive life.
But reliable polls show that a majority (63%) of New Yorkers made their wish quite clear: "Change our vicious abortion law."
Even physicians agree: In one poll, 83% of New York State obstetricians said they want the abortion law changed. But the fact is still there: so doctors of conscience are forced to break the law to practice modern (and moral) medicine.
Other groups have made the same stand: to cite a few: the New York Civil Liberties Union; the Association of the Bar of the City of New York; the American Public Health Association; Edward P. O'Rourke, Commissioner of Health, City of New York; the American Psychiatric Association; the New York State Council of Churches; the Episcopal Diocese of New York; the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies; and the New York Academy of Medicine.
Prominent political leaders have also favored change: the late U.S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, and Mayor John V. Lindsay.
Then there's the matter of human life.
70,000 American women dead every year.
They die after having gone underground to seek out criminal abortionists. In New York alone, 75,000 women risk their lives this way every year. Why? Because we have a law that says professional care from a qualified physician is illegal. As a result, we have a law that encourages crime and causes death.
That's not all. A significant number of all the women who get illegal abortions are married and already mothers. According to Dr. Milton Helpern, Medical Examiner of the City of New York, illegal (out-of-hospital) abortions are the largest cause of maternal death in New York City. And the statistic doesn't take into consideration the vast number of children left motherless.
Even though most New Yorkers oppose our antiquated law, there is a lot of pressure to keep it on the books. And our lawmakers have failed to act. Now you can make your voice heard in Albany. We want the misery and killing stopped. Call your state senator or state assemblyman. If you want to know who he is, call your local Board of Elections or your local League of Women Voters.

REASON: If libertarians were to address themselves to one primary issue today what should it be?

ZEIGLER: At the risk of sounding repetitious: the problem of futility, apathy, feelings of despair, feelings of powerlessness, and frustration that the courts and politicians are not responding to injustices. That's the issue we should be talking about. We should be showing people how they *can* exercise more control over their own lives.

REASON: What about public access television?

ZEIGLER: This is another vehicle that we should involve ourselves in. Also, although America is not yet a poster-oriented country, posters are extremely valuable in getting our ideas across. Those are also items that could be sold. And local libertarian candidates have a grand opportunity to gain access to the equal time provisions under the Fairness Doctrine. I think it's damned unfortunate that our candidate for President and Vice President cannot have this kind of access. But there is a cause that

If you cannot afford an ad or you don't have the time to fund-raise, or build an organization to fund-raise, press conferences are a good vehicle for getting your point across to the public. The New Left was extremely skillful in staging demonstrations that were covered by the media. In New York, 6 million people watch the six o'clock news. That's a huge amount of coverage for any particular point you want to make.

In addition you can write radio and television stations and request copies of their editorials so that your organization can reply. Again letters to the editors are extremely important. Appearances on talk shows are very valuable and these are not as hard to get on as you may think. People in the media, reporters, journalists, and producers need content—they are starving from lack of material. They want people who can make news and libertarians are in a decidedly advantageous position today of being able to offer sensible, reasonable alternative points of view, suggestions and solutions to specific social problems. Our views are looked forward to and welcomed and this is something we must capitalize one. We've already spoken briefly about the importance of direct mail. This is an area where you can start very small with a very small list, test its effectiveness, and if it's proved that its paid its own way, you can proceed from there to enlarge that list and talk to many more people and raise more funds.

libertarians can involve themselves in and correct that particular injustice before the next election.

REASON: Are you optimistic about the use of communications by libertarians to effect change?

ZEIGLER: Only partially. Unless you've written an ad, had it published, and had the experience of receiving hundreds or thousands of replies in the form of congratulatory letters, and contributions, you really cannot fully appreciate the rewards and the power of advertising to eliminate the misuse of power. Unless you've been in the communications business, and unless you've experienced these kind of results it is really hard to appreciate the fact that mass communications can bring about a more voluntary society. I also do not think libertarians are angry enough to commit themselves to the use of the media. I still think as a group we're too interested in engaging in intellectual exercises and talking to ourselves and formulating our own concepts. Again, I don't want to put this down, because I think this is an extremely important, valid, growth process. It is just that at a certain point in growth do you say to yourself: "I have an idea here that is worth exploring internally and with others but is it time now to take this idea, imperfect though it may be, even though there is dissension in our own ranks on specific concepts, do we not now take this idea before the public?"

I don't think anyone will be moved to take the libertarian philosophy to the public unless they are extremely fearful and angry. I happen to be both. As I mentioned previously, I simply would like to see more of a total committment on the part of the libertarian movement to use its own resources. There is a lot of talent in the communication industry available to further our ideas. What I've observed in a lot of the interest groups that I've worked with is a built-in self-destruct. An example is the anti-alimony movement. It became quite obvious that the hundreds of males that responded to our organization did not really want to get rid of the alimony laws; because then they would have no enemies—nothing to complain about. They would have to readjust their lives and fill a void. This goes back to Hoffer's claim that people who join movements don't really want to be free. They want a sense of community. The other thing I've observed on the part of many interest groups is that the cause itself is not important. What is important to them is their own personal ambitions and collections of power. As a result, the cause suffers.

This could happen with the libertarian movement. It could happen if we became too caught up in talking to ourselves and not detailing strategic plans to bring about the end of statism. The communications tools are there, well-proved, ready for us to use; it's just a matter of knowing what we want to do with them. ◻

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A profit-oriented, reason-why advertising agency, owned and operated by libertarians, offers a career opportunity for a meticulous, hard-working man or woman. Prior business or sales experience helpful but not necessary. We will teach you the business from the bottom up—including media buying, bookkeeping, layout and production, typing, filing, light correspondence, errands and research. Starting salary lean but livable.

In this small company you'll be able to integrate your libertarian philosophy with your career.

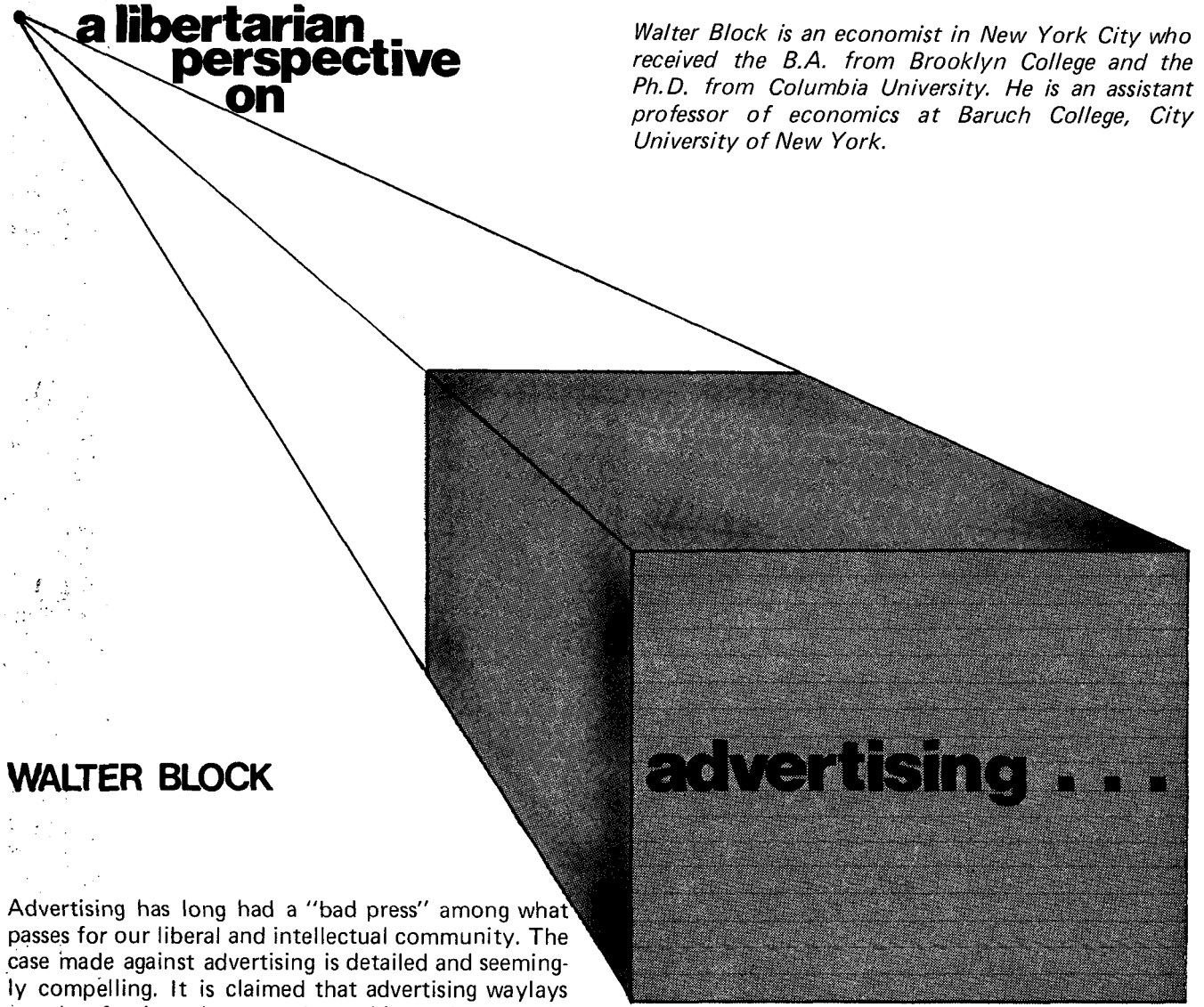
We are growing rapidly and promote our own people. So you can advance as far as your accomplishments take you – in management, media or copywriting.

You MUST be ambitious, self-motivating, honest, competent, responsible—and thrive on hard work. This business is *not* for nine-to-fivers.

If you believe you can succeed in this career, tell us how we can profit mutually by working together. Simply write in detail or phone, Jim Powell, Buzzell, Powell, Rosenthal Inc., 14 Sweetfield Circle, Yonkers, N.Y. 10704. (914) 968-3293. Please mention where you read this advertisement.

a libertarian perspective on

Walter Block is an economist in New York City who received the B.A. from Brooklyn College and the Ph.D. from Columbia University. He is an assistant professor of economics at Baruch College, City University of New York.



WALTER BLOCK

Advertising has long had a "bad press" among what passes for our liberal and intellectual community. The case made against advertising is detailed and seemingly compelling. It is claimed that advertising waylays people, forcing them to buy things they would otherwise not buy; that it preys on the fears and psychological weaknesses of people; that it is misleading, with its juxtaposition of beautiful women and the commercial product, fooling the gullible into believing that if they buy the product, the woman is somehow part of the deal; that it is silly, what with its contests, marching bands and jingles, and is an insult to our intelligence. The argument is then usually capped with an appeal to our selfish natures: advertising costs a lot of money. A minute of prime television time or a full page ad in a popular magazine or newspaper can run into thousands of dollars. The advertising industry as a whole is a multi billion dollar industry.

If we banned advertising, we could save all this money, it is alleged. The money could be used to either improve the product, or to lower its price, or to do both. The whole advertising industry could be supplanted with a governmental board which would substitute objective rating for motivational advertising. Instead of sexy misleading jingles, we would have product descriptions, perhaps summarized by a grade level, such as "grade A", "grade B" etc. In any case the nonproductive parasitical advertizers would be put out of business.

There is so much wrong with this view of advertising that one hardly knows where to begin. To put it in historical perspective, this is only one argument in a long line of arguments purporting to show that one or another industry is parasitical and unproductive. The Physiocrats thought *all* industries except for farming, fishing and hunting were wasteful. They reasoned that anything not connected up in some way with the soil was sterile and dependent upon these soil based industries. Other economists distinguish between goods (which they hold to be productive) and services (which they do not hold to be productive). Still others hold all goods but only some services to be productive; they do not allow that monetary services such as financial intermediation, brokerage, banking, speculation, etc. can have any value. In these modern sophisticated times, however, it is easy to see that a good need not come directly from the soil, nor a

service be "tangible" like medical care for it to be productive. We now know that brokers get people together at a lower cost than what they themselves would have had to undergo to get together. We now know that the nontangible product of the insurance industry is to provide for the pooling and consequent lessening of risks. But even in these sophisticated times the advertising industry enjoys a widespread reputation as a parasite.

This bad reputation can be countered by a closer examination of the case against advertising. First of all, it seems clear that advertising cannot "waylay" or "force" people to buy what they would not otherwise buy. The distinction between coercing and convincing must be kept in mind. (Fraudulent advertising is another matter. This must be prohibited as it is logically equivalent to theft: if the seller advertises wheat but actually sells worthless rocks, it is just as if he stole the money price of the "wheat". In both the case of outright theft and the case of the fraudulent sale the buyer gives up value in return for nothing; and it is against his will.)

Subliminal advertising can also be considered coercive. Interspersing pictures of parched-dry desert scenery and pictures of soft drinks in between the regular frames of a movie can lead to increased sales; but if such unconscious motivation is caused without the will or even knowledge of those effected it can approach the coercive levels of various science-fictionish "hypnosis machines" (one points them at a victim, pulls the trigger, and the victim follows all orders). Apart from fraudulent and subliminal cases, advertising is not coercive. It cannot be claimed that the ordinary type of advertising is coercive without completely obliterating the distinction between coercion and persuasion. If advertising is coercive in this sense, then so is every attempt at persuasion whatsoever.

Secondly, advertising does have an informational content. This is conceded even by its most fervent detractors. If for this reason alone it should not be banned, it is said unless it is assumed that the government can do a better job. But governmental action in the field of advertising is not without its own problems, as we shall see below.

Moreoever, advertising is no less advertising just because it is government advertising. If anything, any arguments against advertising apply even *more* strongly to government advertising. As the supposed "last resort", unencumbered by the usual necessity to make profits by pleasing consumers, if *it* gets out of hand, there is very little that can be done. Why should not governmental advertising for United States War Bonds, for the draft, or against littering be considered advertising—with all the drawbacks to which advertising is heir to?

Thirdly, advertising helps new firms as opposed to old established firms. If all advertising were prohibited, we would still remember the products of old firms somewhat; the products of new firms would have very little chance of being brought to our attention. To the degree that older firms are more likely to monopolize a given industry than are newer firms, this tendency for advertising to give a comparative advantage to the newcomers will lessen the degree of monopoly in the economy—a fervent desire of these liberal academics second only to their hatred for advertising. (And, as can be seen in chapter 10 of *MAN, ECONOMY AND STATE* by Murray Rothbard, just as misplaced as their desires concerning advertising.)

Fourthly, there is also the point that much if not all of the advertising that violates contemporary community standards of intelligence and decency can be traced to and blamed on governmental edicts in other areas. The government[1] does not allow airlines to compete on the prices of tickets. Consequently their competition is channeled into quality and advertising competition. We incessantly hear about early blue bird specials, new decor, different numbers of seats in an aisle, airplanes named after stewardesses, etc. ad nauseum. If airlines were free to compete with respect to price, we might be spared this constant reiteration about fripperies. The same holds true for banks. Banks are limited in the amount of interest they can pay to depositors (zero percent to demand depositors, 5½% to time depositors as of this date). So they compete with each other as to which can give the best pots, pans, radios, etc. as a prize for new depositors. (Note that since they can charge as much as the market will bear for loans, they seldom spend advertising money to try to convince anyone to borrow money from them. If there were a minimum interest for loans below which the lender could not charge, banks would then invest money in advertising.) Therefore the true blame for advertisements of this sort belong not to the advertising industry, but to the government.

Fifthly, I think that the above four arguments are all correct. And that when taken together, they constitute a valid defense against the critics of advertising. And yet they do not strike at the heart of the matter. They ignore the main fallacy of the critics. This fallacy assumes that, deep down, there is a distinction to be made between motivational advertising and informational advertising and that motivational advertising is "bad" in various ways while only the informational type of advertising is "good". The truth is, it seems to me, that getting information across to people and motivating them are so inextricably bound up in each other that it makes no sense to even distinguish between them.

In order to get a better perspective on this, let us

consider several cases where it is not THEY who are trying to impart information and motivation to US, but where WE are trying to impart information and motivation to THEM. Most of US, for instance, have had occasion to apply for a job and go on a job interview. How do we prepare? Well, to begin with, we (WE) first write up an advertising brochure about ourselves. (This document is sometimes called a resume by those anxious to obfuscate and to hide the fact that each of us is, at almost all times, an advertiser.) What do we put on this advertising brochure? We put the facts of our employment life as it pertains to the perspective job on this advertising brochure. *And in splendid advertising tradition, we try to make these facts appear as flattering as possible*. We have the brochure printed on the finest paper in order to create an "erroneous impression" like a good advertiser should. We hire a professional typist in order to help "waylay" an employer into hiring us. Strictly speaking, we are only providing information on the brochure. It is "merely" informational advertising on the face of it, but the attempt to present the information in a favorable light involves us, willynilly, in motivational advertising. When we go on the actual job interview, we will try to "package" ourselves as best we can. Even though we might not every day, at the job interview we will make sure to dress well, to have shined shoes, to have taken a shower, brushed our teeth, taken especial care of our grooming.

Sixthly, this advertising of ourselves pervades our lives. We are constantly trying to portray ourselves in a good light. Even unconsciously we try to package ourselves well. From the very cradle our parents were busy advertising us or laying the groundwork for future advertising. How else can we explain all those ballet lessons, violin and piano lessons, visits to the orthodontist, to the skin doctor? The "jewish mother" with her constant exhortations about good posture (my mother would grab my shoulders back whenever I slouched), about good eating habits ("eat this, eat this, its good for you", "children are starving in Europe, and you're not eating") is the great unsung hero of the advertising business. And the jewish mother's bragging about her children? Just more advertising.

As we grow up we carry on the fine traditions of advertising. We wear clothing that flatters our figures. We diet, or try to. At least part of our expenditures on education, psychiatry, barber shops, clothing, beauty shops can only be understood as advertising expenditures. Later on we buy cars, houses, recreation, in large part as advertisements in ourselves. Incidentally, the greater expenditures (as a percentage of income) on "luxury" items like flashy clothing, cars, made by groups who are discriminated against, such as women and blacks, can be explained by advertising. They feel they must engage in greater advertising expenses in order to counteract the discrimination. The rest of us need not invest so heavily in advertising because WE are IN. (I owe this point to Ben Klein).

Seventh, those who have been called upon to give a speech where there was a distinct possibility of putting the audience to sleep will understand the difficulty of distinguishing between imparting information and packaging a speech. Consider a treasurer's report to a business. Or an economics class lecture. Surely, no more boring speeches can be imagined. The public speaker or teacher will engage in certain techniques like maintaining eye contact, telling jokes, posing rhetorical questions. These are sometimes known as public speaking techniques. But we know better. We know them as advertising techniques: packaging the product well, making it appear interesting, highlighting the talk, bringing points into focus, capturing the attention of the audience. These advertising techniques can have about as much to do with the subject of the talk as bicycling has to do with Coca Cola, deep throaty, sexy female voices have to do with shaving cream, or the sporting events of "the more than one beer men" have to do with beer. That is not the point. The point is that if one ever hopes to get information across even to people who are presumably well motivated (like the student in the economics class who has to stay awake to get a good mark) one must engage in advertising techniques. Imagine how very much more important it is to advertise information to be imparted to those who are not well motivated to begin with. We must interpret the advertising done on t.v. in the same manner that we interpret the advertising done by public speakers: as attempts to impart information by creating an interesting attractive message. Were we to consistantly ban all advertising, we would have to prevent speakers and teachers (who lord knows, are quite boring enough as it is) from even trying to be interesting. They could not be allowed to tell jokes, maintain eye contact, discuss questions with the audience. For all these things are above and beyond the strict imparting of information, and like t.v. advertising gimmicks, "waylay the audience", "cause us to think and/or act in ways other than those we would have pursued in the absence of the talk".

Eighth, even members of the radical left, who are among the bitterest of the critics of advertising, engage in advertising themselves. (This should not be surprising, since we are defining advertising in its proper but broad sense of creative and interesting packaging.) Pretty much whenever the radical left has access to a bulletin board, the messages placed on it are at first, uniformly small, neat and similarly printed. After a while, in order to attract attention, some of the messages are printed in different colors, on different size placards. Eventually, in the competition to attract attention for the message, larger and

larger placards are used, with more and more bold printing, coloring, and illustrations. In their attempt to spread information, they are led "as if by an invisible hand" to engage in motivational advertising. The reason radicals write things like "OFF THE PIG" or "FUCK THE STATE" on walls or buildings, in big red letters is not entirely out of a desire to shock. It is also out of a desire to impart the revolutionary message, by first attracting attention to it. If no one even reads it, informational however much it may be, it will impart no information. But as much can be said for the typical soap opera-type advertisement. (I owe this specific illustration as well as this whole radical way of looking at advertising, to Israel Kirzner).

Ninth. Let us consider the problems of banning motivational advertising while allowing informational advertising. It is important to consider this problem because while almost all "respected opinion" is against motivational advertising, almost none is against informational advertising. Suppose a new type of magic carpet is invented. The information to be gotten across is the flying speed, cruising range, upkeep costs, information on how to roll it up and store it while not in use, etc. Now, a regular t.v. announcer could not be permitted to just read off this information, because he will be very good looking, forceful, exuding confidence etc. He might well give viewers a false sense of security with regard to the magic carpet. Nor could there be music in the background, especially not music that "soars" or with any kind of celestial theme. This would be obviously motivational. As would be a demonstration film clip of the carpet in action with a pretty girl lying on it as a passenger. We wouldn't want to take a chance of fooling people into believing that if they bought the carpet they would get a copy of the inspirational music; or of the inspirational girl.

If we couldn't use a professional announcer, could we at least use a nonprofessional one, or just a "regular guy, off the street"? We could not. Some advertising companies with their low sneaking cunning, have already tried this type of testimonial from the man in the street. And with great success. Proving that this proceedure has a *motivational* content. Evil. To be avoided at all costs. It seems that no one can read the message. So we'll print it. But what kind of type face can we use. Certainly not any kind that would HORRORS! induce someone to buy the flying carpet. It would have to be a pretty indecipherable type face so that people could hardly read it. Otherwise, at a low enough price, many people would be led down the garden path into making a purchase. The ad would have to be done in a purposely inferior manner so as not to attract any attention to itself. After all, we cannot have informational advertising *attracting attention* to the product; it is supposed to only impart information, not attract attention because of interesting packaging. Of course no ad can impart information if it attracts no attention. Hence the distinction breaks down.

Tenth. Does advertising ad to the cost of the final product? No, it does not. Or more exactly, it in no way adds to the cost of the product, except insofar as does any other process necessary to bring the product to the consumer. In other words it does not *unnecessarily* add to the cost of the product; it adds to the product in much the same way that wrapping the product or transporting it or building it or growing it adds to the cost of the product. Let us return to the magic carpet case. Suppose that it costs $950 to manufacture the magic carpet, $10 to wrap it, and $40 to transport it. If customers want to take advantage of these wrapping and delivery services, they must pay the full $1,000. But they have the choice of coming in to pick up a wrapped carpet at $960, or of having an unwrapped one delivered to their homes for $990, or of picking up an unwrapped one for $950.

So is it with advertising costs. If it costs $100 to advertise the carpet, the customers have a choice between the advertised brand for $1100 and hunting and searching for an unadvertised brand for $1000. As the word gets out, more and more people will be able to find and buy less- or non-advertised brands for less and less than $1100. The manufacturer would be foolish to engage in any advertising at all if customers were beating down his factory doors. It is only when customers are reluctant to buy, whether because of lack of knowledge or of motivation, that manufacturers have incentive to add advertisement to their costs. But in this case, by this very assumption, people did *not* voluntarily choose to search out for the unadvertised brands at cheaper prices. They refused to buy at all! Could we say that if people refused to buy unwrapped undelivered magic carpets, but *would* buy wrapped delivered ones that wrapping costs and delivery costs were added to the total costs unnecessarily? No more than can we say that advertising "adds" to the cost of the product. Of course advertising adds to the cost of the product. But then so do raw materials, rent for the factory, labor costs, etc. etc. add to the cost of the product.

Paradoxically, there are many cases where advertising does *not* add to the cost of the product, not even as the payment for a necessary factor of production. Advertising may result in lower cost to the consumer by virtue of increased sales volume and decreasing marginal costs of production. In this case advertising would be economically indistinguishable from a factor of production like a machine which allows a new cost saving process to be introduced. To be sure, the machine and the process must be paid for, but if they cut costs enough, the price to the consumer will be lowered.

"A defense of free market advertising should not be interpreted as supporting advertising on the part of government."

Eleventh. What of a governmental rating board for advertising? Before we rush pell mell into giving the government still another task because of alleged "imperfections" in the market, let us consider its dismal record to date. The graft and corruption unearthed by Ralph Nader and associates should alone give us pause for thought. It is a sordid mess where regulation agency after regulation agency such as ICC, CAB, FTC, FPC, etc. have been shown *not* to be regulating the industry for the benefit of the consumer, but for the benefit of the industry as against the consumer. And this is not just an accident. There is a reason for it. We are each purchasers of literally thousands of items; but producers of only one. Our ability to get favorable regulatory legislation passed by the state will be much more concentrated as producers than as consumers. Agencies will then always tend to not only regulate in favor of the industry, but also to be set up by the very industries to be regulated. Milton Friedman, in a positively brilliant chapter in *CAPITALISM AND FREEDOM* entitled "Occupational Licensure" showed the dismal record of allowing governmental rating agencies in the medical field. What evidence is there that a rating board for advertising will be any different? Rather, I would not be surprised if calls for governmentally regulated "objective", "informational" advertising began being made by some of the larger already established advertising firms as a way of slowing down the rising competition from smaller firms and newcomers.

The strongest argument against the governmental regulation board for advertising is not, I think, the empirical one showing its dismal record to date, strong though that be. It is the logical one. For the argument for advertising regulations is a downright self-contradiction! On the one hand it asserts that the American public contains people foolish enough to think that if they use the advertised after-shave lotion, they will end up with the girl in the ad; that there are none of us, no matter how intelligent, who are completely free from the misrepresentations of advertising. On the other hand the argument asserts that we boobs are somehow smart enough, and free enough from the guiles of the advertisers, to pick political leaders capable of regulating these sirens. Impossible.

In any case, if the public is sufficiently enamored of "objective" information on consumer products, it can avail itself of the services of firms like Consumers Union Reports, Good Housekeeping, Better Business Bureaus, commercial testing laboratories, and other private enterprise certification agencies. The free market is flexible. It can provide this kind of service too. (But the inability to distinguish between motivational and informational advertising still holds. When *CONSUMERS REPORTS* imparts information that Zilches Flakes are the best flakes for the money, it is necessarily motivating people to "buy Zilch" over and above the other flakes. It cannot provide information without *any* motivation to do anything.)

Twelfth.Nothing in this defense of free market advertising should be interpreted in support of advertising on the part of government, or on the part of its corporate-state-monopoly-capitalist big business support. In the case of government or government-big business advertising, none of the free market defenses hold. In this case people are forced to pay for the advertising whether they choose to buy the product or not. When the government advertises that "Uncle Sam Wants You" to kill or be killed in some east asian jungle, it is with money seized from people on an involuntary basis. TAXES.

It is strange that the liberal academics who complain so bitterly about free market business advertising so completely ignore fraudulent advertising on the part of the government. Imagine what would ensue were a private businessman to commit fraudulent advertising on even 1% of the scale committed by Roosevelt, Johnson, or Nixon, who ran on (advertised on) peace planks, and yet enveloped the country in foreign wars. How can we then entrust punishment of fraudulent advertising to the biggest fraudulent advertisers of all time—the government? Blank out.

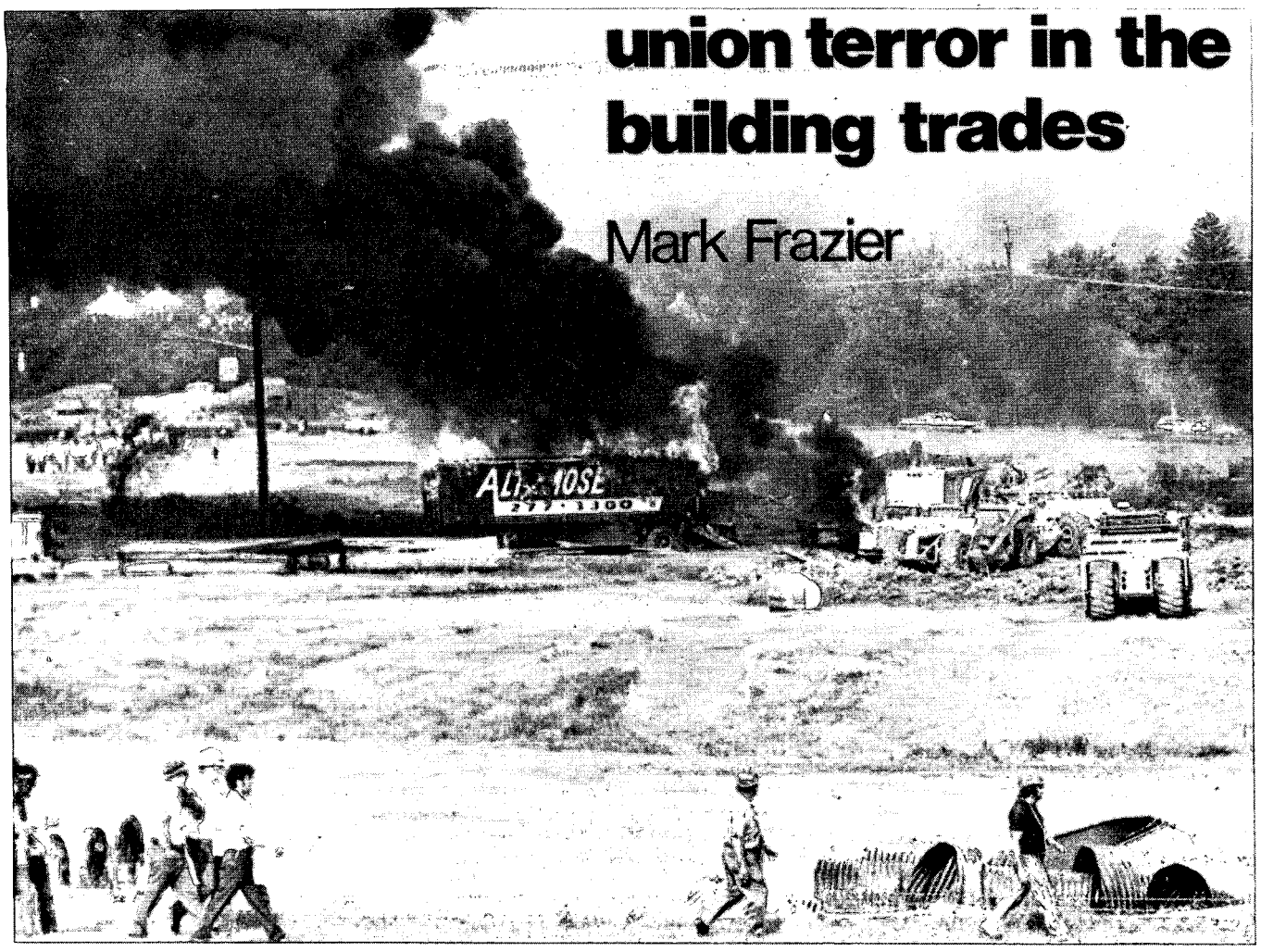
Finally, advertising must be defended by libertarians on the grounds of free speech. Because that is all advertising is. Free speech. It is all too easy to defend the rights of free speech of those whose speech we favor in any case. If the rights of free speech are to mean anything at all, they must be defended especially for those who are not in public favor. I anxiously await the leadership of the American Civil Liberties Union in defending the free speech rights of advertisers. They were ominously quiet during the banning of cigarette commercials from t.v.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] For the view, correct I think, that it was not the government that initiated controls of this type in an effort to regulate business in the public interest, but that it was rather business in an effort to control the competition of newcomers that initiated these regulations see *TRIUMPH OF CONSERVATISM* by Gabriel Kolko. ◻

union terror in the building trades

Mark Frazier



As dawn broke over Valley Forge on June 5, eight buses slowed to a stop before a dormant construction site. Packed inside were more than five hundred men armed with broom handles, baseball bats, canisters of explosives, and bottles of gasoline. The bus doors folded open, the men burst out, smashing down one side of the Cyclone fence, then another, and then the rest. A small group rushed towards the trucks and bulldozers and temporary offices, lit the fuses of a dozen firebombs, and scattered backwards as plumes of gritty black gas rose into the sky. A second throng began heaving stones at the lone policeman who ran to assist two security guards cornered by the mob, while a third blocked passage of fire-fighting equipment. Then, as suddenly as it began, the violence stopped. With a signal from a cluster of business-suited men on the street, the members of Roofers Local 30, AFL-CIO, and their union allies reformed into a picket line around the smoldering hulks. The rented buses returned, the union men boarded without interference from police, and above the fires, a grim man in a helicopter watched the attackers drive off. The man was J. Leon Altemose—owner and designer of the Sheraton Hotel construction project—and he had just witnessed $300,000 of damage to his and his subcontractor's equipment.

MOUNTING UNION VIOLENCE

Union violence in the construction industry has been mounting all over the United States in recent months. As "open shop" or "merit shop" contractors win growing shares of the market, operating on the principle that only the lowest responsible bidders should be awarded contracts, building trades unions have waged an increasingly ugly campaign of terror. In January, scores of fights and incidents of arson erupted at non-union sites in Maryland, a merit shop stronghold. In March, the Louisiana National Guard was called out to protect non-union workers in Fort Allen from union picket lines. In May, 500 pickets smashed windows and lobbed stones at non-union workers building a Tennessee amusement center. The unions justify their acts by maintaining that non-union pay scales, which average $1 to $2 per hour less than union rates, are exploiting non-unionists and pushing unions out of the market. They further insist that merit shop contractors are bypassing apprenticeship programs and work rules which "protect" employees.

MERIT SHOP CONTRACTORS

But a nationwide group of merit shop contractors, the Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC), disputes these claims, maintaining that the trades unions are instead struggling to preserve the hammer-grip they have held over the industry for 30 years—a hold which has seen construction costs soar by 10 to 15 per cent a year. Far from being "exploited", ABC notes, the nonunion workers frequently earn more than their union counterparts because they are not subject to seasonal unemployment or the capricious job assignment characterizing union halls. By teaching a variety of skills to each worker, streamlining apprenticeship programs, and ending costly feather-bedding rules, ABC says that it uses men on a year-round basis and holds down costs far more successfully than union shops.

ABC contractors in the Philadelphia area have proved their point—local ABC membership has leaped from 180 in 1969 to 347 today. By relying heavily on non union labor, these ABC members have escaped union strictures requiring that only operating engineers press elevator buttons on work sites, painters limit themselves to brushes less than 4½" wide, and electricians stand guard over temporary lighting systems whenever the switches are on. With new construction shying away from the city, still the center of union strength, unions in Philadelphia and elsewhere have begun to look with envy at the suburbs—and with fury at the ABC. The building trades unions have determined to make the Sheraton Hotel project a test case to see whether the unions can raid newly lucrative ABC pastures, or whether they will tumble to oblivion as the cities decay. "If ABC wins this one, we've got a real fight for survival on our hands," recognizes Edward F. Toohey, president of the Philadelphia Council of the AFL-CIO.

IMPENDING BATTLE

The unions have already begun to marshall all available resources for the impending battle. Tom Magrann, a leader of the Building Trades Council, is reported to expect that the unions will easily amass a $200,000 warchest for political and media campaigns. ABC officials believe the fund may go double Magrann's estimate. A recent sympathy march by over 20,000 unionists and supporters in June—the largest in Philadelphia history—was held despite flood conditions to underscore the electoral muscle of the unions and the depth of feelings at issue. To pressure the financial backer of the Altemose hotel project, the unions recently announced plans to withdraw "tens of millions" of dollars in pension funds from the First Pennsylvania Banking and Trust Company, and have called for a nationwide boycott against the Sheraton Hotel chain which may cost the firm a million dollars a year.

While the union disclaims any knowledge or sanction of illegal activities, recent violence further illuminates the savage feelings lying below these legitimate tactics. Since the June 5 attack on the Valley Forge project, a house belonging to Altemose's father has been gutted by fire; the residence of a man who will help run the Sheraton restaurant has been repeatedly stoned; arson brought damages of $100,000 to George Blyth, non-union developer of a suburban apartment complex; and on July 14, vandals ravaged the Philadelphia Sheraton. In addition to ripping open beds, smashing furniture, breaking mirrors and windows, tearing carpets, and cementing bathroom drains, the men involved in the last incident left spray-painted wall messages bearing the union cry, "Remember Altemose."

FIGHT TO THE END

J. Leon Altemose, 32 year old president of a burgeoning Norristown design and construction firm, stands at the center of the gathering holocaust with the ABC. Tall, usually cheerful, a prize-winning racer of cars and a man who has watched his company double in size each year for the last ten, he is determined not to capitulate to the unions. "I'm going to fight them to the end," he promises. "I've laid everything on the line—everything." Everything, to Altemose, is a company now grossing $16 million a year, and a personally-designed "dream" headquarters for his firm which looks like a transplant from the 21st century. The principle at stake, he says, is whether he will be allowed to run his business as he thinks best, or whether he will bow to dictation from the unions.

Jack Bingaman, executive director of the Delaware Valley ABC, sees many parallels in Altemose to Hank Rearden of *ATLAS SHRUGGED*, and a general similarity in their respective positions. "They attempted to restrain Rearden, and they're trying to restrain Altemose," he said early in July. "Leon Altemose hasn't been satisfied with the mediocrity that most contractors are. He's built probably the greatest construction firm in the Philadelphia area."

The Delaware Valley ABC, too, under Bingaman, is girding for the impending showdown. On June 1st, it opened a drive for emergency funds to assist contractors endangered by union violence. Some $30,000 has already been collected. The same week, it approached Cong. Lawrence Coughlin (R-Penn.), and persuaded him to convince a lukewarm district attorney that the unions merited more attention than they were being given. Coughlin is now looking at reform of the National Labor Relations Act as a further way to curb union intimidation. The ABC has also lent

support to investigations by private detectives into the June 5 affair, and sponsored an ad offering $10,000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those involved in the Sheraton firebombing. State police and private investigators are reportedly working on several leads from the ads, with arrests expected soon. Both Altemose and Bingaman are confident that an injunction barring union members from picketing Altemose sites—requested after the June 5 Valley Forge attack—will be upheld when reviewed this September by the State Supreme Court.

But Bingaman thinks the unions may win regardless of court decisions. "If they do anything else, looking at past experience, they'll blow up the Sheraton complex once it nears completion," he says. "If they blow it up, I don't see how Altemose can rebound." And past experience suggests that his fear is indeed a possibility, that the unions are quite capable of planned and premeditated violence.

ORIGIN OF VIOLENCE

The Philadelphia showdown has been building for 10 years in blunt, often brutal stages of intimidation. It began with an incident almost identical to the Valley Forge firebombing. Roger J. Fisher, a leading nonunion contractor who decided in 1963 to build an apartment complex in a Philadelphia suburb over union protests, was hit in that year by repeated dynamitings. Ruinous financial losses ensued, and although the project was later completed it discouraged other merit shop contractors from undertaking similar construction.

From 1966 to 1969, Pennsylvania State Police reported numerous instances of arson and reported threats of violence against merit shop contractors. Then, in 1969, union terror became increasingly spectacular and bloody. Daly Brothers, Inc., an area roofing firm, saw eight of its trucks in January go up in smoke after repeated warnings to unionize. A month later two more trucks were firebombed, and a shot whistled past one of the owners as he entered his apartment. In April, a nonunion roofing firm named R. Alper and Co. was hit by an incendiary bomb. Alper said that two weeks before the fire, John McCullough, president of the roofing union, approached him and asked, "What does it look like—you being across the street from our Hall and not belonging to our union?" A man police believed implicated in the firebombings was murdered shortly afterwards, amid reports that he had talked too freely in a local bar.

November, 1969, brought troubles to another nonunion contractor which continue unabated today. Donald Gaster, developer of a 27 story apartment-office center who sought to pare expenses to a minimum, hired local black workers and North Carolina Indians to keep building costs under $5 million. Five hours after sunset on November 9, three satchels of dynamite destroyed his plans, wrecking a giant crane and knocking a ten foot hole in the foundation. He has been unable to work on the site for the past 30 months because of daily union picketing, and is now resigned to tearing down the half-completed structure.

WIDENING TERROR

The twelve months preceding the Sheraton explosion, however,saw the circle of terror widen to draw in even more victims. Arson, beatings, and bombings climbed to new heights in pace with ABC successes. The stepped-up campaign of violence began on June 29, 1971, when 16 men drove up to a nonunion job at the Olde Sproule Shopping Village and rushed out of their cars swinging baseball bats labeled "Local 30". They left the site's general contractor with a broken hip, one worker nearly blind, several men with broken arms and legs, and one employee hospitalized with a concussion and a fractured skull. Although witnesses scribbled down the license number of one of the cars, and others identified three of the assailants, no one came forward to testify in court. "I think the union got to them," a Delaware County police lieutenant commented afterwards. Days later, union violence again turned on itself—one of the three identified men was found lying dead of gunshot wounds under a turnpike bridge. A second identified assailant put the blame for the murder on another member of Local 30, who had also participated in the beatings, saying that the deceased had been too talkative for his partner's tastes. The trial ended in a hung jury.

Minor incidents of arson and beatings continued until January of the present year, when Altemose announced his decision to build the $15 million Sheraton complex under the merit system. Then, in angry reply, the Philadelphia Building Trades Council threw up picket lines at an Altemose school construction site in Prospect Park, intimidating workers and damaging equipment. Three trucks blew up in March alone. When Altemose brought grievances to the National Labor Relations Board, the unions backtracked and acts of violence against him subsided. Elsewhere, however, new union coercion shook merit shop builders: vehicles belonging to Joseph B. Rogers, Inc., disintegrated in fire on April 5, arson struck offices of Main Roofing, Inc. on April 3, and two Mennonite craftsmen who refused to join a plumbers union for religious reasons were beaten severely on April 10.

FENCES ERECTED

In April, Altemose agreed to talk with the unions about hiring more union workers for the Sheraton project, proposing that 70 per cent of the work go to union shop contractors. The offer was rejected. As the talks dragged on, Altemose used the time gained to set up fences and guards on the Valley Forge site. Finally, at the end of May, in response to what he termed "continued union threats" if any nonunion laborers were used, he informed the Building Trades Council that the hotel would be built entirely by nonunion labor. On June 5, the unions retaliated.

"We didn't know that the rank and file would go wild," union attorney Bernard Katz said later. "We had no idea that they intended to do anything but picket."

ORGANIZED ASSAULT

Many observers, however, had their doubts. The *PHILADELPHIA EVENING BULLETIN*, in a subsequent lead editorial, said so without equivocation:

"As they typically do in instances of construction violence, officials of the Philadelphia Building and Construction Trades Council are disclaiming responsibility for the mayhem and wanton destruction that erupted, at the King of Prussia [Valley Forge] building site.

"But somebody organized this assault and organized it well. The seven [*sic*:there were actually eight] buses that hauled the rioters to the melee were chartered by someone. When the pickets swarmed off the buses, they were carrying sticks, clubs, and homemade firebombs. They were also carrying placards that cited grievances against the nonunion Altemose Construction Company.

"Whoever sent the buses and their charged up riders to the construction site knew they weren't headed for a picnic. Presumptive evidence of a planned, rather efficiently mobilized, riot appears abundantly at hand."

The president of Merz Bus Lines, Inc., told *REASON* in July that the bus rental had been arranged by John McCullough, head of Roofers Local 30, several days before the firebombing.

In response to the Valley Forge attack, County Judge Vincent A. Cirillo ordered on the afternoon of June 5 a ban on all union picketing against Altemose projects within one mile of the sites. It came too late for delivery that day to union members, and over 120 of them assembled the next morning in front of Altemose headquarters in Center Square. But at that time, in contrast to the previous morning when only a few dozen police showed up, over 100 state and local police were waiting. The Sheriff read Cirillo's injunction to the pickets, giving them 15 minutes to leave, but they refused to depart. The police moved in and arrested 123 men, confiscating over 30 knives and one fully loaded 22 caliber pistol belonging to Allen Cohen, a friend of the union leaders. Cohen, chief union negotiator for a Mafia linked meatpacking company—Kansas Beef Industries—carried no permit for the gun.

POLITICAL PRESSURE

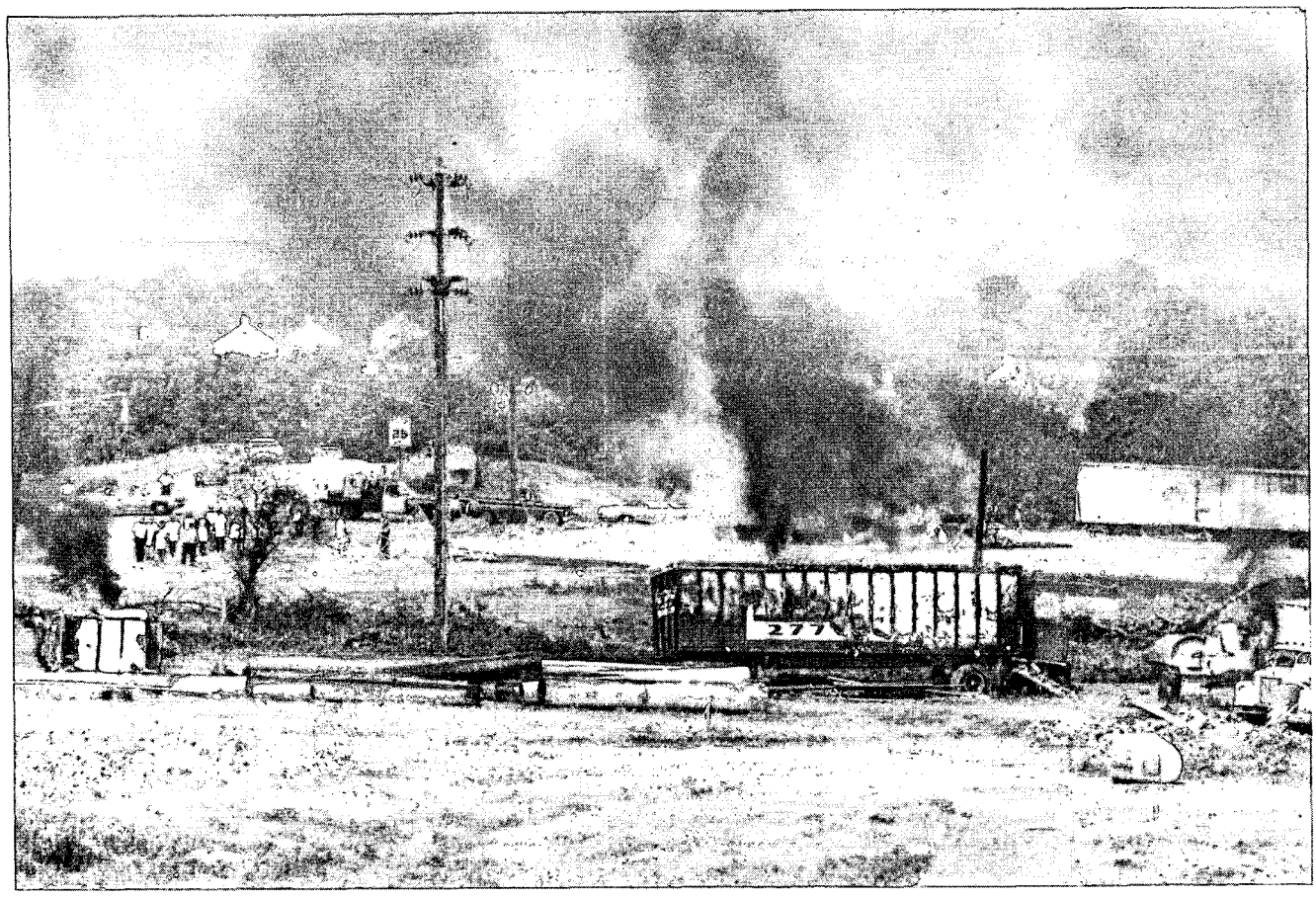
The wheels of politics and justice began to turn soon afterwards, and it became suddenly clear that union bosses weren't Cohen's only allies. Edward E. Pilch, Philadelphia representative for Senator Hugh Scott (R-Penn.), telephoned Altemose an hour after the arrests to request that charges against Cohen be dropped. Altemose asked if Pilch would guarantee an end to picketing and violence if he agreed, and hung up when Pilch said that was beyond his control. According to a *PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER* reporter privy to sources near Pilch, Pilch made the request on behalf of the Building Trades Council, staunch financial supporters of Scott in past elections. The reporter also stated that Cohen was a reputed "hired gun" for the trades unions, a statement borne out by Philadelphia newspaper clippings from the '50s linking an Allen Cohen to organized crime.

Pilch himself has had tie-ins to the construction trades through his job as a real estate broker and insurance salesman for United Brokers, a major Philadelphia firm which came under federal investigation last year for rampant frauds in housing programs designed to subsidize renovation and purchase of low-income housing. Critics charged at the time that the FHA had given United Brokers monopoly control of the much-abused program in the area due to political influence from Scott's office.

On the afternoon of June 6, the day of the arrests, Cohen was released on all charges. The other picketers were clamped with $100 fines for violation of the injunction.

JUDICIAL COURAGE

The union contention that the June 5 violence was "unplanned" began to shrivel two days later in court hearings before Judge Cirillo. Two witnesses—Lewis Louderback, chairman of a union-shop transportation firm, and Mrs. Ruth Dann, a participant in a Baptist convention next to the Sheraton site, testified that a small group of men appeared to be directing the proceedings from the street. "Four or five men in



business suits seemed to have control of the whole situation," Louderback said. The men in the business suits, identified in photographs, proved to be more than idle bystanders—they included Cohen, Magrann, and McCullough. As a final damning piece of evidence, a picket holding a walkie talkie was also photographed standing nearby.

Cirillo, apparently convinced by the testimony and a review of past incidents that trouble erupted whenever Local 30 picketed, ordered an indefinite prohibition of union picketing against Altemose projects. Three weeks later, Building Trades Council leader Magrann announced that the BTC would send 50,000 men to work for Cirillo's defeat in county elections next year.

CONCLUSION

Union tactics have struck scores of victims, but they have hurt Altemose most of all. He estimates that they have already bled $1 million from his company in direct costs and in business frightened away. He concedes that he will have problems when the company's insurance policies come up for renewal, and that armed guards and dogs must now watch over his home and all 20 company building sites around the clock. Nearly every week brings him new reports of stonings, telephoned threats, or property destruction—or, as in the June 29 firebombing doing $100,000 damage to merit shop contractor George Blyth, reports of terror directed against his colleagues. And Altemose is acutely conscious that his much labored-over office building is constructed entirely of wood.

But, at the same time, Altemose believes that the unions are becoming their own worst enemies. "They're hurting themselves more than I ever could," he says. "They're losing—I think they've lost already —the respect of people in this area. I think it will eventually lead to legislation which cuts down some of their power."

In the meantime, the young president races his cars, reads the hundreds of congratulatory letters he has received—and mulls over plans for a new and bigger project, a $25 million condominium.

Of the present job he has no doubts. "I'm going to build that building," he says. "It may cost a lot, but I'm going to build it." ◻

REASON *contributing editor Mark Frazier is studying journalism at Harvard University and spent this summer as a reporter for* HUMAN EVENTS.

libertarian party correspondent—

It is one thing to learn and understand a philosophy. It is another thing to put it into practice as the members of the Libertarian party are finding out.

We find that in media coverage we are bypassing a lot of opportunities (mostly because of inexperience) and intra-party communication leaves much to be desired. Organizational abilities at the grass roots level is conspicuously lacking except in a few isolated instances. Many libertarians simply do not know what to do and lack desire to learn what to do.

In many cases perspective is totally absent. Anarchists argue with limited government advocates rather than with those not familiar with libertarianism. The advocates of Rothbardian foreign policy dicker with the advocates of Randian foreign policy but refuse to engage in activities of presenting a libertarian view to the public.

A tremendous effort is needed to identify to the voters the principles and standards needed to make a rational judgment. Now is not the time to argue amongst ourselves. Energies can best be directed outward during this crucial election year.

Nevertheless, progress has been substantial in establishing a firm base for a political party and using this base to reach people with libertarian ideas.

Some notes on progress and future plans:

California: Dr. Hospers has made several radio and television appearances and as a result requests for information have come in from all over the state. Many libertarians are finding that they are not alone. The state organization is building up nicely in the Los Angeles area, but in Northern California there is a lot of inertia to overcome. Mrs. Nathan completed a campaign tour through California and generated a lot of publicity for the Libertarian Party by making several radio and television appearances and addressing several meetings. Highlighting the tour was a banquet in Los Angeles held at the Ambassador Hotel where she, Dr. Hospers and Manuel Klausner (Libertarian Party Congressional candidate, 27th District) addressed a crowd of about 80 people.

Colorado: National headquarters in Westminster is placing ads in magazines and newspapers and is planning a national campaign trip for Dr. Hospers and Mrs. Nathan, the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates during September 5-12. Tentative states participating are Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, New Mexico, Colorado, Texas, Oklahoma. Pip Boyle is actively campaigning as a congressional candidate in Colorado.

Idaho: Steve Syms, a libertarian, won the Republican Congressional Primary (1st Dist.) on August 8 campaigning on the Libertarian Party platform. His literature conspicuously displayed the TANSTAAFL libersign.

New Jersey: Robert A. Steiner, a CPA and long time advocate of laissez-faire, has been appointed campaign vice-chairman (New Jersey) and is forming a John Hospers for President Club.

New Mexico: A state convention was held in Albuquerque (July 22-23) that received wide press coverage.

New York: The Free Libertarian Party is out pounding the beat to get signatures on petitions to get three candidates on the ballot. The candidates are Gary Greenberg for Congress (18th Dist.), Walter Block for Assembly and Gerry Riggs for Assembly. New York is using the "club organization" concept in forming a state party.

Oregon: Mrs. Tonie Nathan has been doing a fantastic job and Dr. Hospers and Mrs. Nathan may get on the Oregon ballot. The news media has been very responsive and support is growing at a rapid rate. Mrs. Nathan resides in Oregon, and her organizational ability and public relations experience has given libertarian ideas a good hearing in the northwest.

Texas: A state convention was held in Waco on July 1 and a new state chairman, Guy Brown, was selected. Texas has their own newsleter.

National: Professor Hospers is making a cross-country tour during September 5-16. He is stopping in Illinois, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Texas, Wisconsin, and other states, and will appear on Channel 28 in Washington, D.C. on September 6.

Talk to people. We need to get the word out. Let's aim to defeat the ideas of Nixon and McGovern and influence Washington heavily with our ideas. Time is growing short.

Report any Libertarian Party news to Bill Susel, California Libertarian Party, P.O. Box 91460, Los Angeles, California 90009 for inclusion in future issues of *REASON*.

BILL SUSEL

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- Part 1 of Professor John Hosper's examination of the concept of force. In this significant article, Professor Hospers considers such questions as, What is force? Is the use of force justified only in *retaliation* against others who first initiate its use? Can the anticipatory use of force be justified?

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EDUCATION, FREE AND COMPULSORY, Murray N. Rothbard	*$1.00*

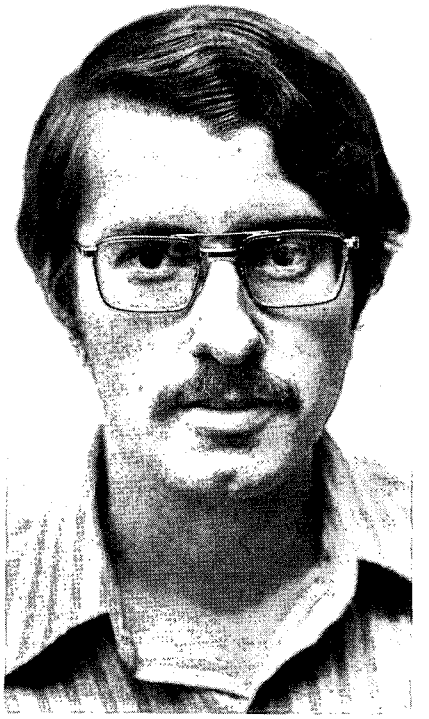
reason profile

The word that best describes 28 year old *REASON* editor Robert Poole, Jr. is *busy*. Like all of the *REASON* owners, he has a fulltime professional career in addition to his work on the magazine, and yet he still manages to enjoy a modicum of leisure activities.

Mr. Poole did his college work at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, earning a B.S. (1966) and an M.S. (1967) in mechanical engineering. He worked for Sikorsky Aircraft in Connecticut for two years, then moved to Santa Barbara, California to accept a position as a systems analyst with a local "think-tank". The firm is expanding into the criminal justice research field and Mr. Poole is currently involved in a project to design a model criminal justice system for a growing metropolitan area.

Mr. Poole first got involved in libertarian activities while at MIT where he was active in the Goldwater campaign and MIT's Radicals for Capitalism club. While on the East Coast he and his wife, Lynn Kinsky, attended various Objectivist functions in New York and Boston. During this time they began writing for *REASON* magazine, and shortly after moving to California they became involved in Reason Enterprises which ultimately bought *REASON* from its previous owner. Mr. Poole has written a number of articles for *REASON* and has been reprinted in *THE FREEMAN, JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF CONCIOUSNESS* and *OUTSIDE LOOKING IN*, edited by Dorothy James (Harper, Row, 1972).

Mr. Poole's major leisure time passion (aside from Ms. Kinsky) is model railroading. He is trying to find time to resume building cars and plans eventually to have an extensive O-scale layout. He also enjoys reading (economics, and science fiction), music (Mahler), gardening ("therapeutic"), playing with their three cats, and sitting around the pool soaking up sun and chatting with friends. In short, he seldom lacks for something to do, and is having a delightful time doing it!



publisher's notes

• **FILMING OF ATLAS SHRUGGED —STATUS REPORT:** *REASON* reported last month that the widely-publicized agreement between Ayn Rand and producer Al Ruddy concerning the filming of *ATLAS SHRUGGED* is not yet final. As we go to press, negotiations are still in progress. *REASON* is following developments closely, and will continue to keep readers advised.

• **REASON PROFILES:** This month, *REASON* inaugurates a new regular feature, *REASON PROFILES*. The column will give a personal glimpse at individuals who are making significant contributions to libertarian thought and action. *REASON* Associate Editor Bob Poole is this month's subject. Forthcoming profiles will include both younger and veteran exponents of freedom. We invite readers to send us suggestions for future *REASON PROFILES*.

• **CAMPAIGN WORKERS SOUGHT:** *REASON* editor Manuel Klausner is seeking help for his congressional campaign against Barry Goldwater, Jr. in California's 27th Congressional District, which runs from the San Fernando Valley (Encino, Reseda, Woodland Hills, etc.) to Oxnard and Camarillo. Anyone interested in assisting on the campaign can contact Mr. Klausner directly at 555 So. Flower St., 26th floor, Los Angeles, California 90071.

• **SAN DIEGO TEN:** 300 people contributed nearly $2,000 at a dinner on July 15 in San Diego to kick off a fund drive to raise $35,000 for legal fees to defend the San Diego Ten, who were arrested on conspiracy charges by the Treasury Department after a demonstration and brief struggle occurred outside the warehouse of John Heck on May 9. The demonstration was to protest and draw media coverage to the seizure of Heck's property for nonpayment of $8,000 in back taxes. The demonstrators protested the seizure as illegal because of the consistent violation of certain constitutional rights by the IRS. Donations may be sent to the Libertarian Defense and Education Fund, Suite K, 2550 Via Tejon, Palos Verdes Peninsula, California, 90274.

• **REASON IN LIBRARIES:** Over fifteen libraries throughout the country are now receiving subscriptions to *REASON*, thanks in part to the generosity of *REASON* readers who have contributed gift subscriptions. In order to help extend the list of library subscribers, *REASON* will publish in this column the names of all persons donating gift subscriptions to libraries. In addition, a complementary one-year *REASON* subscription or renewal will be given to each of our readers who donate three one-year library subscriptions before Election Day, November 7, 1972.

movies

REVIEWED BY
CHARLES BARR

• **THE CANDIDATE** is one of the most cynical movies to come along in recent years. Its message (if there is one) seems to be that principles are irrevelant in a political campaign; that compromise pays off; and that winning elections is an end in itself. Robert Redford stars as a Nadar-type lawyer who is persuaded to run for Senator on the Democratic ticket, against a seemingly invincible Republican opponent. He accepts the opportunity so that he will have a chance to speak out on the issues that seem to concern him most: pollution, abortion, welfare, vested interests. But under the influence of his campaign managers and his ambitious wife, Redford is gradually transformed into an evasive, compromising, utterly conventional politician. At the end, having abandoned most of his principles, he goes on to win the election. By this time, he has lost the last shred of his original goal; on learning of his victory, he asks his campaign manager, "What do we do now?" Given such a plot, the film might have succeeded as the tale of the gradual destruction of a man's honesty and integrity. But *THE CANDIDATE* fails to achieve even this modest goal. From the beginning, Redford is the soul of detachment, superficial and emotionally uninvolved; he never appears well-defined, either as a person or as a political idealist. Nor does the film portray the triumph of image over principle; Redford's opponent (ably played by Don Porter) comes on as an empty-headed, sloganeering conservative. What the film does demonstrate is the bankruptcy of contemporary politics, and the ease with which the image-makers can manipulate philosophically disarmed voters and candidates. But then, we knew that already, didn't we? Rated "PG".

• **THE NEW CENTURIONS** is a cross between *DRAGNET* and soap opera, a volatile mixture resulting in a wildly erratic movie. On the level of entertainment, the film is fast-paced and exciting, with a plentiful supply of violence and low comedy to keep the viewer diverted. As a human drama it is less successful, abounding with cliches such as the retired cop who is unable to cope with not being needed any more, and the rookie policeman who becomes so involved in his job that he neglects his wife (who finally leaves him). But it is at the level of social commentary that *THE NEW CENTURIONS* is most disturbing. Many critics have labeled it a "pro-police" movie. To this reviewer, the film seems to take a dim view both of police and of humanity as a whole. The policeman's role is seen as that of protecting an ungrateful society from its own vices—a seemingly losing battle, because society doesn't want to be saved, and because policemen, being human, are often unable to cope with their own problems. This attitude, pessimistic and patronizing, is the apparent justification for scenes such as: two cops filling a paddy wagon with black prostitutes, driving them around, getting them drunk, then releasing them—another policeman smashing the windows of a getaway car in frustration over the excape of a suspect—a group of vice squad officers trapping a homosexual in a public park—a policeman getting drunk on duty following the death of a friend. Despite the movie's flaws, however, the acting is first-rate. George C. Scott takes on an entirely new image as a knowledgable, cynical veteran cop who makes up and enforces his own peculiar set of rules. Stanley Keach is convincing in his role as a dedicated rookie. Jane Alexander and Rosiland Cash deliver good performances as Keach's wife and girl friend, respectively. Rated "R".

• **BUTTERFLIES ARE FREE** is a rarity, a delightful, intelligent romantic comedy which has enough depth to make serious statements about life. Adapted faithfully from Leonard Gershe's play, the film is about a young man, blind from birth, who attempts to detach himself from his mother's apron strings by making it on his own in swinging San Francisco. This plot would seem tailor-made for an infusion of gushy sentimentality, but the movie manages to avoid that pitfall rather nicely. The boy is portrayed as strong, self-reliant, able to cope with what Fate has dealt him. He meets and falls in love with his neighbor, a dingaling hippie girl whose apparently joyous attitude towards life masks a fear of making permanent attachments. In the meantime, the boy's mother is sparing no effort to convince her son to return to a safe, insulated existence with her. The resulting conflict is at times hilarious, at times dramatic, and at all times true to the characters involved. Edward Albert, son of actor Eddie Albert, makes an impressive screen debut as the blind boy, a role which is more difficult than may appear. Goldie Hawn is superb, delivering her best performance ever as his kookie next-door neighbor. Eileen Heckert, who appeared in the original Broadway production, infuses strength and vulnerability in her role as the domineering mother. The dialogue is witty, often salty and usually to the point. The whole film is designed and executed with such skill and flair that it should receive several Academy Award nominations. You'll be sorry if you miss this one! Rated "PG".

• A good, tight plot and a strong performance by James Earl Jones are the chief assets of **THE MAN**, a film adaptation of Irving Wallace's best-selling novel about the first black President of the United States. The movie's chief liabilities are a collection of cliche supporting characters, and (considering the nature of the material) a severely limited scope. The result is a fast-paced melodrama, acted out among the principal characters with very little intrusion by or into the world at large. Jones gives a believable and quietly dignified performance as a middle-class black senator, who succeeds to the White House following the accidental death of the President and the Speaker of the House, and the incapacitation of the Vice President by a stroke. Complicating the life of the new President are a racist senator (Burgess Meredith) who is out to ruin his career; an ambitious Secretary of State (William Windom) who is next in line for the Presidency; and a militant daughter (Janet MacLachlan) who considers him an "Uncle Tom." The film's major crisis develops when the government of South Africa accuses an American black militant of assassinating one of its government officials, and requests extradition. Thanks in good measure to Rod Serling's screenplay, the events of the film succeed in building up quite a bit of suspense. *THE MAN* was originally intended as a two-part movie for television, rather than a theatrical release. Stylistically, it remains much closer to standard television fare than contemporary movies. Much of the context is established by dialogue, rather than shown; the secondary characters tend toward the one-dimensional; and no scene lasts longer than a few minutes. But the story manages to rise above these handicaps, and a rousing good story it is. Rated "G".

trends

MINERVA UPDATE

The government of Tonga has belatedly attempted to lay claim to the isolated Minerva Reefs, site of the emergent libertarian Republic of Minerva. King Taufa-Ahau Tupou IV, accompanied by a brass band, raised the Tongan flag over the reefs and claimed a 12-mile territorial boundary around the reefs. The reefs lie several hundred miles from Tonga, across open sea, and have been clearly excluded from all past Tongan sovereignty claims.

Mike Oliver, spokesman for the Ocean Life Research Foundation, said the Tongan action would have no effect on the group's plans to begin construction of a permanent settlement on the reefs, under the independent self-government of the Republic of Minerva. At last report, the Foundation had purchased and completed outfitting of a ship for use in the initial construction and settlement of Minerva.

M. C. Davis, representative of the Minerva project, met with representatives of the Tongan government in June to discuss the matter. Mr. Davis was treated very rudely and was informed that the Tongan government would attempt to use force to remove Minervan representatives from the reefs, and was prepared to go "to any extent short of war" to protect "its" territory. The government of Figi has since sided with Tonga, and has closed the port of Suva to the Minerva group.

Meantime, Mr. Robert Marks, another project official, was busy in New Zealand making arrangements for the initial construction expedition. A 200-ton cargo vessel, the "Ranganui," has been purchased and prepared for service, and other supplies and equipment are being obtained. Other plans are not being made known at this time, for security reasons.

The Ocean Life Research Foundation, sponsor of the Minerva venture, has issued the following reaction to the Tongan action:

1. Prior to January 1972 the Minerva Reefs were unowned, uninhabited, and had never been in the territory or protectorate of any power.
2. We have complied with every conceivable requisite of national sovereignty in establishing our claim to the reefs. WE have conformed explicitly to international law as it is manifested in the treaties, traditions, and conventions of the modern world.
3. We have never posed a threat to the peace and security of any nation. In fact, the success of our program would be of great benefit to all peoples of the South Pacific.
4. The King of Tonga has violated our territorial sovereignty by claiming the reefs six months after the Republic of Minerva became a sovereign state, and has threatened the peace and tranquility of the South Pacific.
5. The King of Tonga has refused to discuss the matter with the representatives of the Republic of Minerva, and has threatened to arrest anyone found on the reefs.
6. Tonga has no plans to develop the reefs. The Minerva Reefs are two desolate atolls that vanish below the tide twice each day. They are volcanic in origin and it is inconceivable that they could contain deposits of oil, gold, or any other economically advantageous mineral.
7. We want to continue our program to develop the Minerva Reefs to benefit not only ourselves, but the rest of the South Pacific as well. We have the technology and resources necessary to succeed. Yet we have been unjustly infringed upon by another government. We hope to peacefully persuade them to relinquish their claim. Our rights as individuals and citizens of a sovereign state have been violated; we intend to defend those rights.

SOURCES:

"Tonga Claims Minerva Reefs," Reuters, *LOS ANGELES TIMES*, 28 June 1972.

Personal communication from Mike Oliver.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN MORE TROUBLE

Public school systems in two major cities—Portland (OR) and Detroit—ended the 1971-72 school year on the brink of financial collapse. Portland's 124 public schools closed in May, a full month early, because funds had run out. The school board found itself with a $6 million gap between expenses and revenue, and the only solution left was the early school closing. *Three times* during the 1971-72 school year Portland voters were called to special elections to vote on a special tax levy to eliminate the deficit, and three times they said no, once by 3-2 and twice by 2-1 margins.

The early-closing action was primarily a school board tactic to pressure the voters into approving—at a *fourth* special election—an increased tax base for the 1972-73 school year that would permit retaining the existing level of service for a full school year. But on 23 May, just 11 days after the schools closed, the voters soundly defeated the $12.9 million increase. The school superintendent has since announced plans to eliminate the kindergarten, fire 762 employees (including 438 teachers), and increase class size.

In Detroit the public school system ended the school year with a $38 million deficit, and a projected deficit for next year of $101 million. In a "survival" plan, the Detroit school board has delayed this fall's school opening two weeks, decreed a six-week Christmas vacation, and cut two months off the spring term, resulting in only 117 school days (instead of the state-required 180). Detroit's schools have been in the red since 1966. Although a tax hike was approved in 1969, that was the last time the voters were so disposed. Tax increase proposals went down to defeat this year in both May and August.

Detroit school board member Darneau Stewart summed the situation up accurately: "We have just discovered the death of the public school system, and we don't want to recognize it." It won't be long before entrepreneurs begin picking up the pieces and begin to get down to the *business* of education.

SOURCES:

"Portland Closes Schools One Month Early—No Cash," *LOS ANGELES TIMES*, 25 May 1972.

"Struggle to Survive," *TIME*, 19 June 1972, p.42.

ADMINISTERED PRICES—FACT OR FANCY?

The theory of "administered prices" has long been a favorite of non-free-market economists, and has recently been embraced by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress. In May this learned body announced to the world that "the market power enjoyed by large monopolistic or oligopolistic firms enables them to set prices which are higher than competitive conditions would dictate." This same theory lay behind the January action of the Federal Trade Commission in charging that four large breakfast cereal manufacturers constitute a "shared monopoly" which illegally retain dominance of their market. A spokesman for Kellogg Company, the largest of the four (with 45% of the market) charged that the FTC was citing it for illegal practices "based on theories which have never been tried or tested."

Until recently, that was indeed the case. In the last few years, however, these theories *have* come under empirical study, and the results are quite remarkable. In a major article in *FORTUNE*, author Gilbert Burck reports that "the . . . fact is that the theory of administered prices is totally unproven, and is growing less and less plausible as more evidence comes in." The article describes the work being done in the Research Program in Competition and Business Policy at the UCLA Graduate School of Management, under the direction of Prof. J. Fred Weston, as well as the findings of economists such as George Stigler and Yale Brozen at the University of Chicago.

Some of the first important evidence questioning administered price theory came in 1970 in a book called *THE BEHAVIOR OF INDUSTRIAL PRICES*, by Stigler and James Kindahl. By studying the *actual* prices charged by companies (including discounts and concessions), the economists found no significant differences in pricing between "concentrated" and "nonconcentrated" industries. Weston and his colleagues have carried on similar work, challenging the unproved assertions (1) that large corporations set target markups or target rates of return, (2) that their prices tend to be inflexible and unresponsive to changes in demand, and (3) that they do not maximize profits, but seek only to maintain target profit levels. Weston's empirical studies seriously discredit the first two notions, and cast doubt on the third.

Another recent book lends further support to the view that companies in concentrated industries do indeed compete and respond to consumer demand. *IN DEFENSE OF INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION* by Prof. John S. McGee of the University of Washington argues for a broader, more evolutionary definition of competition than that set forth in standard economics textbooks. The growing evidence indicates that competitive efficiency is an important characteristic of concentrated industries. As Brozen points out, "concentrated industries are concentrated because that, apparently, is the efficient way to organize those industries."

Included in Weston's research program are noted economist Harold Demsetz, on leave from the University of Chicago, and UCLA professor Sam Peltzman, subject of a recent *REASON* interview ("Working Within the System," *REASON*, June/July 1972).

SOURCES:

"The FTC Declares War on Oligopoly," *BUSINESS WEEK*, 29 January 1972.

"The Myths and Realities of Corporate Pricing," Gilbert Burck, *FORTUNE*, April 1972, pp.85-89ff.

MINOR SKIRMISH VICTORIES

The past several months have seen a number of minor victories for free-market libertarian ideas, at the expense of the federal government:

• A proposed step towards 1984-type surveillance of households has been killed on orders of the White House. The plan, billed as a "disaster warning system," would have required all new television sets to be equipped with a device allowing the government to remotely turn on the sets at full volume, day or night, so as to warn citizens of an impending disaster. Enough citizens considered the plan an impending disaster that the government decided to back down.

• In another communications development, the Federal Communications Commission voted 4 to 3 to allow all qualified applicants to provide communications satellite service for television, telegraph, and digital data transmission. The ruling follows the pro-competition recommendations made two years ago by Clay T. Whitehead of the White House Office of Telecommunications Policy. Interestingly, the decision was opposed by Nixon's three FCC appointees (Burch, Reid, and Willey). The decision does not mean there will be totally free entry to the communications satellite market; applicants must demonstrate financial and technical competence, and existing monopoly carriers AT&T and Comsat must meet special conditions in exchange for their public utility status. New entrants into the satellite business will probably include Western Union Tele-Communications, RCA Global Communications, RCA Alaska Communications, MCI-Lockheed Satellite Corp., and Fairchild Industries, all of which have filed applications with the FCC.

• In an important change in policy, the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs has apparently gotten serious about Indian self-determination. In a 17 July announcement, the BIA said it plans to turn over complete control of its $110 million a year operation on the Navajo reservation (the Bureau's largest) to the Navajo tribe—"lock, stock, and barrel." Tribal Chairman Peter MacDonald said he thought it was about time that the BIA responded to the tribe's request. The move reportedly has the support of the Navajo Tribal Council, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of the Interior, and the President.

• For once, apparently, the federal government will compensate businessmen who suffer from arbitrary government regulations which harm or destroy their businesses. The House has narrowly passed legislation designed to compensate businesses for losses suffered due to the FDA's sudden ban on cyclamates in 1969. When massive overdoses of cyclamate caused bladder cancer in rats, the FDA, as required by the "Delaney clause," banned cyclamates in foods, causing millions of dollars in losses to diet-food producers. The compensation bill was passed despite the complaints of Ralph Nader, who made unsupported assertions about human bladder cancer and harm to unborn generations, and called the bill a reward for "bad business judgment and wanton disregard of consumer health."

SOURCES:

"Hurricane Warning Plan Is Dropped," UPI (Washington), 26 June 1972.

"All Qualified Firms Get Chance to Offer Satellite Services," UPI (Washington), 17 June 1972.

"Navajo Tribe Offered Control of Reservation," Associated Press (Window Rock, AZ), 18 July 1972.

"Repayment for Cyclamate OK'd," Associated Press (Washington), 25 July 1972.

NEW ATTACKS ON FARM POLICIES

Although no changes are likely in this election year, public sentiment against farm subsidies and other government favors to farmers seems to be growing. Jack Anderson recently exposed a plan cooked up by Florida tomato growers and the Agriculture Department to restrict consumer choice. The plan calls for holding down tomato imports from Mexico so as to eliminate the Florida growers' competition. Apparently, the vine-ripened Mexican tomatoes are much better sellers than the green Florida tomatoes, which are gassed with ethylene to improve their color. Despite Anderson's expose, the Agriculture Department has reached a "recommended decision" to restrict the Mexican imports.

Meanwhile, a palace revolt of sorts has been suppressed within the Agriculture Department, but not before the subject of the revolt became known. A group of Department employees called the Young Executives' Committee produced a report urging that the government slash net farm subsidies by about $6 billion, by ending many programs, resulting in lower food prices for consumers. The report pointed out that big farmers now get the lion's share of nearly $4 billion in direct subsidies, and noted that if rural poverty is of concern, it would be better dealt with by other programs.

The Agriculture Department officially released the report before its explosive impact was realized, and then hastily backtracked. Under heavy pressure from farm lobbyists, Asst. Agriculture Secretary Richard E. Lyng said the report "has no official status" and its opinions "are not representative of the policy of the Department." The Young Executives' Group was set up by former Agriculture Secretary Clifford Hardin "to get new-generation thinking on farm problems." It certainly accomplished that purpose.

SOURCES:

"Growers Push 'Gassed Green'", Jack Anderson syndicated column, 7 July 1972.

"U.S. Disavows Plan to Abolish Farm Subsidies," UPI (Washington), 18 June 1972.

book review

MAN OF HIGH FIDELITY: EDWIN HOWARD ARMSTRONG. By Lawrence Lessing. New York: Bantam. Pp. 272 $1.00 pb.

REVIEWED BY RONALD E. MERRILL

Howard Armstrong was one of the greatest of American inventors, the man who discovered the basic circuits on which modern electronics is based. Lawrence Lessing's biography describes Armstrong's struggle to get his inventions developed for use—and to retain his credit for makthem. It is the story of brilliant ideas, careful scientific tests, the creation of new products and new industries—and, simultaneously, the story of corporate negotiations, courtroom battles, and multimillion-dollar lawsuits.

In 1912 radio was little more than a curiosity. Its development was stopped for lack of two things: a sufficiently powerful amplifier for reception, and a stable oscillator for transmission. The solution to both problems lay in the triode vacuum tube, invented by Lee de Forest. But de Forest, hampered by his erroneous theory of the triode's functioning, could not find out how to use it effectively. It was Armstrong, then an undergraduate at Columbia, who discarded de Forest's theory, developed his own, proved it with a brilliant series of experiments, and was thereby led to the feedback or "regenerative" circuit—a device which still lies at the heart of modern radio circuitry.

The result was a monumental battle in the patent courts, with de Forest claiming invention of the feedback circuit himself. Armstrong prepared for legal argument by tutoring his attorney in electronics; the more astute de Forest realized that the issue would be decided by judges who knew nothing of science and did not care to learn. After fourteen years of litigation, the patent was awarded to de Forest by the Supreme Court—a decision which shocked the scientific world.

Armstrong was not stopped. In the meantime he had invented the "superheterodyne" receiver, which made high-frequency broadcasting possible and earned him millions of dollars. But the feedback patent decision was a heavy blow to him, and he fought back in the only way he knew how: with a new invention, perhaps his greatest, broad-band frequency modulation (FM). But FM—superior to AM because it was static-free, more powerful, and gave higher fidelity—was a threat to the AM network monopolies. Having gained control of the industry with government help, they now saw competition arising again in the independent FM stations. Once more government intervention was called in, and FM was strangled by FCC regulations.

It was the end for Howard Armstrong. His fortune had been exhausted by legal fees and by the cost of developing FM; his income was cut off as the corporations which controlled the radio industry refused to pay royalties and challenged his patents in court. Armstrong, now an old man, had fought too many battles, and no longer had the strength to fight this new one; in 1954 he committed suicide.

In the end, he won. His attorney and his widow carried on the lawsuits, and his patents were finally upheld. And FM, its superiority eventually too obvious to be ignored, made a fantastic comeback in the Sixties.

MAN OF HIGH FIDELITY is not just a tribute to a great man, but a fascinating and informative account of the development of the American radio and electronics industries. It provides a valuable description of the use of government power to create the communications monopolies, and a devastating if unintentioned indictment of American patent laws. Finally, it is a story of a sort one too seldom finds—a story of human achievement.

Ronald E. Merrill is a graduate of M.I.T. He is currently a Ph.D. candidate in chemistry at the University of Oregon.

reader survey

In May 1972 subscribers to *REASON* magazine were asked to fill out a questionnaire which asked for their preferences for articles in *REASON* and also for personal data about themselves. We would like to thank the 322 persons who replied to our questionnaire. They represent approximately 10% of our subscribers and while conclusions based on such a self-selected sample must be regarded with caution the sample size is large enough to permit some generalizations to be made.

The bulk of these *REASON* subscribers are in the 22-29 age group (46.9%) with another 26.2% in the 30-39 age range. Approximately 57% of the sample is single or divorced; the rest (43%) married. The 296 persons reporting marital status also reported having 181 children among them.

REASON subscribers are found in all occupations: students (28%), laborers (4%), professionals (28%), business (16%)—even one tax collector! About 60% of the respondents had at least a B.S. degree, with 23% of the total having an M.S. or higher. Approximately 27% are members of some professional society—I.E.E.E. (Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers) had the most members.

In general, the subscribers are affluent: the average family income is $13,000 (a very respectable figure given the large number of single people and low income students in the sample) with incomes ranging from $0 to $70,000+. Over two thirds are renting rather than buying their home.

In general the respondents are content with *REASON*. Over half wanted more interviews and more "Trends". The only category that drew any substantial number of "less" votes was poetry, which in general seemed to provoke very strong positive or negative reactions. Favorite articles were the Nathaniel Branden interview, Hospers' "Impressions of Soviet Russia", Poole's "Contracts—Key to Urban Rebirth", and Armentano's "Great Electrical Equipment conspiracy" in that order, although almost every article that *REASON* has published got at least one vote. About half our respondents declined to state a least favorite article; of those that did state they liked LeFevre's "Justice on Trial", Forrester's "Counterintuitive Behavior of Social Systems", and the Robert Rimmer interview the least.

Some reader comments:

"I have found the issue on education useful in teaching a college class in political science. I hope the quality continues to improve as it has from the beginning."

"Keep up the good work. Get more ads, and more pages of articles."

"Fast becoming my favorite magazine."

"Would like to see more articles by professionals who are doing original thinking in their fields, e.g., economics, military, investing, law."

"I prefer articles on economics and relating to possibilities of realizing libertarian principles in practical terms."

"I am more interested in articles about ways to reduce government authority and replace them by free market alternatives. I am not very interested in articles about how good the world would be if the whole system could be changed at one stroke."

"Why aren't you listed in Ulrich's?" [We're in the newest edition—Ed.]

"Your magazine has helped more than anything in years to relieve the feeling of being philosophically and politically alone in the world. I love it!"

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letters

ELIMINATE TRANSPORTATION SUBSIDIES

Re the interview with Sam Peltzman in your June/July 1972 issue, p. 16: Mr. Peltzman sees "very little, if any" future for passenger rail service.

I am certainly inclined to bet that if there were genuine free enterprise in the air travel industry, which would drive air fares down to about half their present level (as the charter flight operators have done for those consumers who manage to satisfy or evade governments' requirements for eligibility to enjoy the privilege of flying charter), there is no way in which long-distance passenger train service could compete with air service.

However, over shorter distances, as *REASON* pointed out, the competition to passenger train service arises from private cars and buses traveling over government-owned highways.

Mr. Peltzman says, ". . . the crude user charge that we have for the highways, the gasoline tax, even though it's crude, it's still a measure of what it costs, and that measure of what it costs for a car to go over a highway may even overstate it a little bit."

About that I wonder. Pro-freeway lobbyists are fond of arguing that since the money spent on both maintenance and construction of highways is raised only from gasoline taxes and vehicle license fees, there is no subsidy to the automobile/highway/bus transportation business.

But I submit that there *is* a subsidy unless capital invested in highways yields to the owner of the highways (the state) a market rate of return on investment after all maintenance and depreciation charges. This is crucial.

Competing investments, such as railways and airlines, have to yield a market rate of return. If such an investment is not expected to yield a market rate of return, then:

1. Capital will not be invested in it, because the owner of the capital can find a market rate of return in alternative investments, and,
2. Capital should not be invested in it, because other uses of that capital would meet more urgent needs of consumers.

It has been suggested that the gasoline tax would have to be in the neighborhood of $1.00 per gallon (as is almost the case in Europe) for capital already invested in highways to yield a market rate of return.

There are other subsidies to the auto/highway/bus system:

1. Railroads and airlines are taxed, whereas (government-owned) investments in highways are not.
2. When governments build highways, they often acquire the land not at true market price, i.e., by voluntary trade, but rather at what they consider to be "fair market price" as they forcibly seize the land.

I would suggest to Mr. Peltzman that if government-owned highways were charged the equivalent of what their taxes would be if these were businesses owned by people and if the use of the streets and highways were priced so that all capital invested in streets and highways were priced so that all capital invested in streets and highways yielded a market rate of return after all maintenance, depreciation, and "tax" charges, then:

1. The private automobile, bus, and truck would be found to be highly noncompetitive with railway service over moderate distances;
2. Railway passenger service would be noncompetitive with air service, unless the train could beat the plane, city centre to city centre; and
3. Within cities, the demand for freeways would virtually vanish as people rode commuter trains, subways, and — over the very short distances between train and subway stations and final destinations — taxis and jitneys (at free-market prices).

Michael Martinoff, MBA
Vancouver, B.C.

BOOK REVIEW A MISNOMER

One of the purposes of a book review is, presumably, to give the reader some indication of what the reviewed book is about. David Narlee's review of my book *THE DISOWNED SELF* fails entirely in this respect.

It seems that he has used the assignment to review my book as a springboard to air his own difficulties with the philosophy of Objectivism and, further, to propound certain of his own psychological beliefs. Incidentally, in so doing he grossly misstates the Objectivist's view of self-esteem when he writes: ". . . one's self-esteem, and therefore self-acceptance, should rest entirely on one's accomplishments . . ."

Almost none of his discussion has any relevance to *THE DISOWNED SELF*. Reading his review, one would not know what the book is about.

He quotes one paragraph from *THE DISOWNED SELF* with no context and no indication of the relevance of the quote to the theme of the book. Then, incomprehensibly, he attempts to establish a tie-in with Ayn Rand's views concerning "sense of life" (which, I might mention, differ in certain respects from my own discussion of "sense of life" in *THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SELF-ESTEEM*). Neither Miss Rand's view of "sense of life" nor my own has any particular relevance to the theme of *THE DISOWNED SELF* or the views it propounds.

It is not my job to explain to your readers what *THE DISOWNED SELF* is about. So I will simply say that, as far as I am concerned, *REASON* Magazine has chosen not to review my book.

Nathaniel Branden
Los Angeles, California

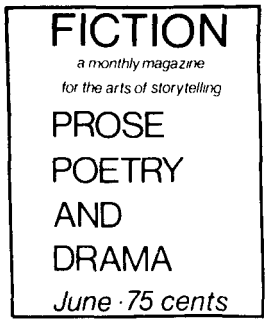
REASON would like to note that Mr. Narlee's piece was submitted as a short article rather than as a book review. Running the piece as a book review was *REASON'S* blunder, and we apologize to all concerned.

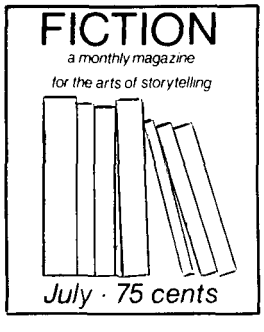
HAIPHONG BLOCKADE DEFENDED

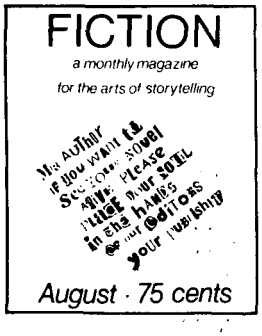
I desire to express a simple "thank you" for Tibor Machan's "Reason and American Foreign Policy," editorial in *REASON*, June/July 1972. It does one good just to be reminded that there are strong, rational voices keenly aware of the immorality of our Vietnam involvement.

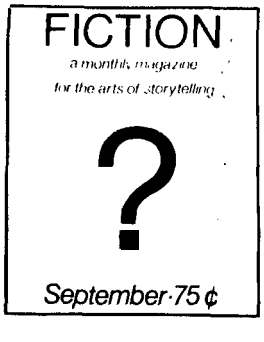
However, as a Vietnam veteran (as well as a learning, thinking libertarian) I still remain emotionally involved with the issue of our prisoners-of-war. Though I recognize the imperative need to withdraw, to do so without first obtaining the release of our prisoners-of-war would be—on a per-

(Continued on page 36)









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(Continued from page 34)

sonal level, and within a personal context-morally intolerable. I was attracted to the USMC while in high school primarily because of a romantic vision. The idea of being an officer for a nation's *just wars* served as a magnet for my adventurous mind. I *believed* in this country and saw—at that time—no wrong in our elected officials. I was a fool. Now, perhaps, I am to blame in a small, small way for the death of thousands. In my behalf I must say that I opposed the draft system starting in high school. Indeed, I got into trouble for failing to register for the Selective Service. I had to submit a two-page "excuse" for failing to register. I was excused since I had been planning to join an officer program under the USMC. Still, I remain proud of my military record, not because I served this country, but because I remained true to *my* standards of aspiration and achievement. There is virtue, here.

On the other hand, I saw much that *was* evil. A major that I know stated flatly: "The *only* reason why the USMC is interested in Vietnam is that it will provide war-experience for the inexperienced." This was shocking—and in my youthful *lack* of experience—I didn't believe it. In Vietnam I saw—firsthand—the brutal effect that war can do to men. Yes, I confirm, *in part,* the instances of American atrocity. No, to the best of my knowledge my battalion never instigated a My Lai. But I did see—and helped my colonel put a *stop to it*—men using their lighters to set houses and structures aflame. However, if you've seen your comrades cut-down; if you've seen a lad of 19 slowly bleed to death; if you've had to pack the personal belongings of a victim to send back to his parents; if you've seen a snapshot of a youth with his arms around his girl in front of East Beach in Santa Barbara, as you instruct your men to pack his belongings—then, perhaps, you can understand the sense of vengeance and hatred which boils in your mind. Then, you can understand *why* you have a desire to kill—and why you *do* kill—and why you can never forget the POW.

I admit—not to my liking—that I tend to permit the POW issue to cloud my reasoning. At times the clouding becomes "incoherent, knee-jerk reactions." I may not be alive today if not for the efforts of our aviators. One of the most welcomed sights was a jet swooping down and eliminating a deadly crossfire situation, a situation which could have cost additional lives. Most of the POWs are aviators. Thus, I have a very *real* concern for their fate as prisoners.

Therefore, I certainly do *not* want a continuation of this war. Yet, I want to see the release of our prisoners. Therefore, when Nixon announced the mining blockade, I rejoiced. I saw an opportunity in the mining aspect, to *sever* this portion of the war from the irrationality and immorality of our efforts to waste lives to save South Vietnam. *For me, this portion became a just war.* I paraphrase from my letter published in the *Santa Ana Register,* dated 4 June 1972.

> ". . . Nixon's decision to mine Haiphong Harbor was militarily sound as well as morally proper. I say morally because it is becoming increasingly apparent that North Vietnam will never release our prisoners-of-war. After all, our government is still trying to secure information on our men held prisoners prior to the cessation of the Korean War. Is there reason to expect North Vietnam to act differently?
>
> "Of course, the President should strictly concern himself with obtaining our men—and not with the political salvation of South Vietnam. If applied consistently and—it must be said—*harshly* the blockade should work. Our men will be returned. In case North Vietnam does not comply we have the option of invasion, as long as it is done through volunteers. And there would be volunteers."

Warren C. Vinning,III

REASON IS BEST

I never cease to be amazed at the behavior of the human animal. It is disconcerting to me as a libertarian to find that people who consider themselves in the same light are so authoritarian in their attitudes toward some of the articles that appear in *REASON.* I certainly don't pretend to agree with all of the ideas expressed in the pages of *REASON,* but I hardly could consider myself rational and libertarian were I to demand, as some readers appear to, that the magazine print nothing but "pure" truth. *REASON* is the best of the libertarian magazines because of its diversity of content. One can be sure that each issue will present some challenging ideas, regardless of whether they conform to a rigidly prescribed dogma.

I am grateful that the editorship is in such enlighted hands. When *REASON* becomes a magazine for true believers only then I want my money back.

Jack Semmens
Tempe, Arizona

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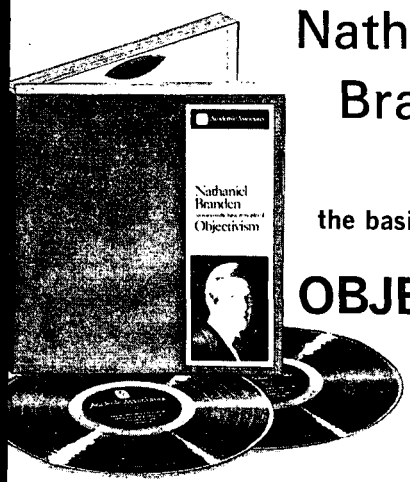
cademic Associates, founded in 1969, is an educational rganization of Objectivist-libertarian persuasion which ffers books and lecture recordings on psychology, philsophy, politics and related fields. Semi-annually, AA pubshes **Book News**, which provides book reviews and escriptions of current offerings.



Nathaniel Branden

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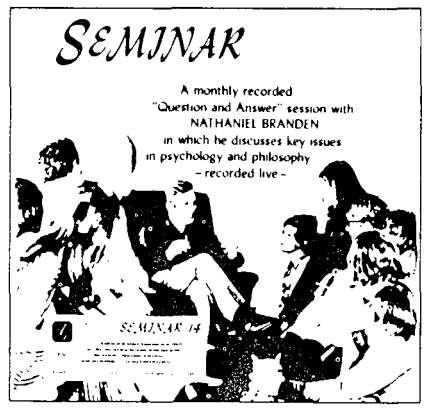
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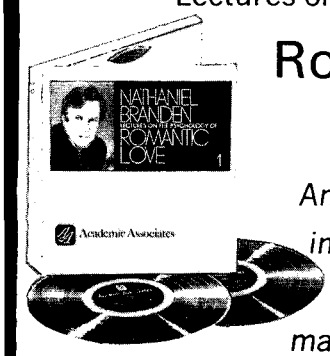

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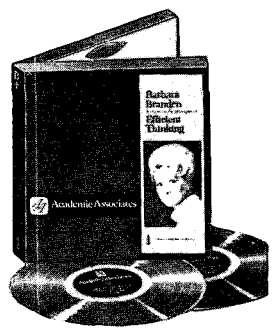

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ACTIVITIES

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NINTH EQUITARIAN CONFERENCE, December 16-17, 1972 near Iowa City, Iowa. Conference theme: Causality and Political Change. For additional information write Equitarian Associates, Box 948g, Iowa City, IA 52240.

BOOKS

ONE BOOK puts the libertarian movement within reach—the *LIBERTARIAN HANDBOOK 1972*. Over 100 pages long, offset printed, this guide describes and gives addresses for groups, periodicals, and spokespeople, provides a thorough listing of libertarian books, discusses issues and strategy, and offers a number of essays by authors such as Backer, Tuccille, and Holmes. If you're involved with libertarianism, this is the one book you should have. Order today! $2. postpaid from Avenue Victor Hugo, Box 322r, Manchester, Vermont 05254.

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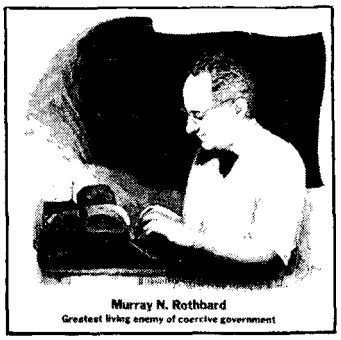

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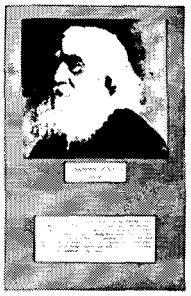

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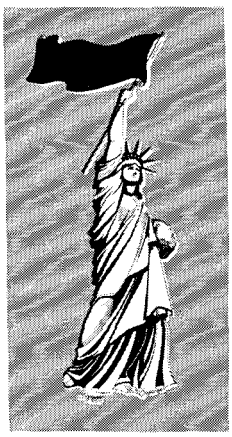

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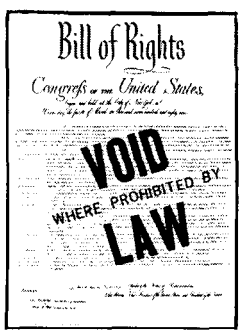

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They won't listen to reason; the only way we can get to them is by mobilizing a massive protest vote. (Staying home won't help; there's nothing the super-statists would like better than to have libertarians abandon the fight.)

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And whatever you do, be sure to go to the polls this November, and cast your vote for John Hospers and Tonie Nathan – even if you have to do it by write-in.

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